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EDITOR:

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

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HENRY M. JOHNSON.

CONTENTS:

THE STUDY AND TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY.....	R. M. Lindsay.
SOCIOLOGY AND PHILANTHROPY.....	F. M. Winsor.
RELATION OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM TO POLITICAL LIBERTY.....	T. M. Urdahl.
OSCILLATIONS IN POLITICS.....	A. L. Lowell.
BRIEFER COMMUNICATIONS: { SOME ASPECTS OF THE THEORY OF ARMY.....	R. P. Falkner.
{ RELATION OF CITIES AND TOWNS TO STREET RAILWAY OPERATIONS.....	L. S. Howe.
PERSONAL NOTES. BOOK DEPARTMENT. NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT. SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.	

[For Table of Contents of Departments, see next page.]

PHILADELPHIA

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## PERSONAL NOTES.

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CONDUCTED BY

HENRY R. SEAGER.

### NOTES.

*L'assurance municipale contre le chômage involontaire*, G. Cornil. Differential Rates to New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. Labour Annual, J. Edwards. Lectures on Local Government, L. Gomme. Bibliography of British Municipal History, C. Gross. Statesman's Year Book, J. S. Keltie and J. P. A. Renwick. Berlin und seine Eisenbahnen, Dr. von der Leyen. Social England, Vol. VI, H. D. Traill.

### REVIEWS.

AMES— <i>Proposed Amendments to the Constitution of the United States</i> , . . . . .	B. C. STRINER.
BODLEY— <i>France</i> , . . . . .	A. L. LOWELL.
CHANCE— <i>Children Under the Poor Law</i> , . . . . .	F. H. MCLRAY.
HODDER— <i>The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury</i> , . . . . .	W. I. HULL.
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SHARPLESS— <i>A Quaker Experiment in Government</i> , . . . . .	E. R. JOHNSON.
WARD— <i>Outlines of Sociology</i> , . . . . .	G. E. VINCENT.
WARD— <i>Industrial Democracy</i> , . . . . .	W. H. DAWSON.

## NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

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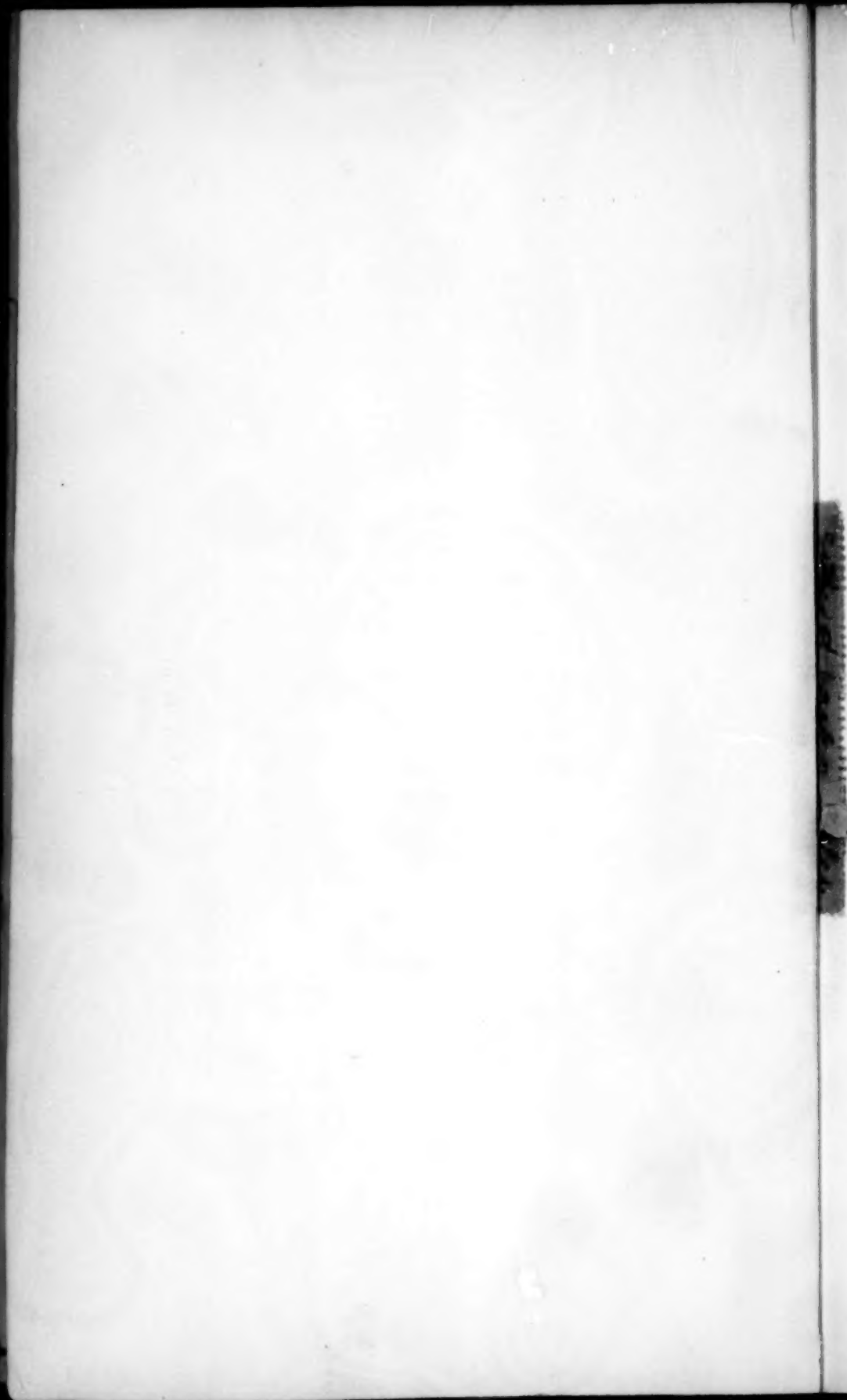
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## CONTENTS.

---

### PRINCIPAL PAPERS.

	PAGE.
BATES, HELEN P. Australian Experiments in Industry	193
FALKNER, ROLAND P. Development of the Census	358
HUNT, R. D. Legal Status of California, 1846-49	387
LINDSAY, S. M. The Study and Teaching of Sociology	1
LINDSAY, S. M. The Unit of Investigation or of Consideration in Sociology	214
MCLEOD, F. F. Fiat Money and Currency Inflation in New England from 1620 to 1789	229
LOWELL, A. LAWRENCE. Oscillations in Politics	69
POWERS, H. H. The War as a Suggestion of Mani- fest Destiny	173
POWERS, H. H. Wealth and Welfare	325
URDAHL, T. K. Relation of the Colonial Fee System to Political Liberty	58
WINES, F. H. Sociology and Philanthropy	49

---

### BRIEFER COMMUNICATIONS.

FALKNER, ROLAND P. Some Aspects of the Theory of Rent	98
ROWE, LEO S. Relation of Cities and Towns to Street Railway Companies	103
WEYL, WALTER E. Labor Conditions in France	250

---

### MISCELLANY.

Fourth International Arbitration Conference— <i>C. R. Woodruff</i>	298
--	-----

## PERSONAL NOTES.

Aldrich, M. A., 409.  
 Bogart, E. L., 259.  
 Clark, F. C., 110.  
 Dabney, R. H., 110.  
 Diehl, K., 111.  
 Emerick, C. F., 410.  
 Farrand, M., 111.  
 Fetter, F. A., 260.  
 Fisher, I., 262.  
 Hoxie, R. F., 110.  
 Hunt, R. D., 260.  
 Jones, F. R., 260.

Knight, G. W., 109.  
 Latane, J. H., 259.  
 Schwab, J. C., 262.  
 Siebert, W. H., 260.  
 Stewart, J. L., 409.  
 Walker, D. A., 261.  
 Warren, E. H., 409.  
 White, F. H., 261.  
 Wyckoff, W. A., 410.  
 Degrees and Fellowships in  
 Political and Social Science  
 in the United States, 262, 411.

## BOOK DEPARTMENT.

CONDUCTED BY HENRY R. SEAGER.

## REVIEWS.

	PAGE.
AMES, H. V. Proposed Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.— <i>B. C. Steiner</i> . . . . .	118
BODLEY, J. E. C. Franco.— <i>A. L. Lowell</i> . . . . .	120
CHANCE, W. Children under the Poor Law.— <i>F. H. McLean</i> . . . . .	125
DARWIN, L. Bimetallism.— <i>J. F. Johnson</i> . . . . .	273
DUNNING, WM. A. Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction.— <i>L. S. Rowe</i> . . . . .	417
FARRER, LORD. Studies in Currency.— <i>J. F. Johnson</i> . . . . .	278
GEORGE, HENRY. The Science of Political Economy.— <i>J. H. Hollander</i> . . . . .	419
GILMAN, T. A Graded Banking System.— <i>J. F. Johnson</i> . . . . .	280
GODKIN, E. L. Unforeseen Tendencies of Democracy.— <i>J. T. Young</i> . . . . .	421
HODDER, E. The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury.— <i>W. I. Hull</i> . . . . .	127
HART, A. B. (Editor). American History Told by Contemporaries—Vol. II.— <i>G. H. Haynes</i> . . . . .	286
JENKS, E. Law and Politics in the Middle Ages.— <i>F. C. Howe</i> . . . . .	423
LEVASSEUR, E. L'Ouvrier Americain.— <i>G. A. Weber</i> . . . . .	288

# CONTENTS.

v

	PAGE.
MAITLAND, F. W. Township and Borough.— <i>E. P. Cheyney</i> . .	292
NICHOLLS, GEO. A History of the English Poor Law.— <i>S. M. Lindsay</i> . . . . .	427
NOYES, A. D. Thirty Years of American Finance.— <i>J. F. Johnson</i>	283
PANTALEONI, M. (Trans. T. B. Bruce). Pure Economics.— <i>I. Fisher</i> . . . . .	294
ROOSEVELT, T. American Ideals and Other Essays.— <i>G. H. Haynes</i> . . . . .	130
SHARPLESS, I. A Quaker Experiment in Government.— <i>E. R. Johnson</i> . . . . .	132
TOUT, T. F. The Empire and the Papacy.— <i>D. C. Munro</i> . . .	430
WARD, L. F. Outlines of Sociology.— <i>G. E. Vincent</i> . . .	134
WEBB, SIDNEY and BEATRICE. Industrial Democracy.— <i>W. H. Dawson</i> . . . . .	136
WILLOUGHBY, W. F. Workingmen's Insurance. — <i>F. H. McLean</i> . . . . .	431

## NOTES.

ADAMS, H. C. History of English Industrial Development . .	265
VON BÖHM-BAWERK, E. (Trans. Alice M. Macdonald). Karl Marx and the Close of His System . . . . .	412
BOYD, C. E. Cases on American Constitutional Law . . . . .	265
BROUGH, C. H. Irrigation in Utah . . . . .	266
BUTLER, N. M. The Meaning of Education . . . . .	413
COLLET, MISS. Changes in the Employment of Women and Girls in Industrial Centres . . . . .	267
CORNIL, G. L'Assurance municipale contre le Chomage involuntaire . . . . .	112
Differential Rates to New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore . .	112
EDWARDS, JOSEPH, (Editor). The Labour Annual for 1898 . .	114
D'EICHTHAL, E., (Editor). J. S. Mill—Correspondance inédite avec Gustave d'Eichthal . . . . .	414
GOMME, L. Lectures on the Principles of Local Government .	114
GROSS, C. Bibliography of British Municipal History . . . .	115
KELTIE, J. S. and RENWICK, I. P. A., (Editors). The Statesman's Year-Book for 1898 . . . . .	116
LEBON, ANDRÉ. Cent Ans d'Histoire interieure, 1789-1895 . .	268
VON DER LEYEN, DR. (Editor). Berlin und seine Eisenbahnen, 1846-1896 . . . . .	116



	PAGE.
LORD, ELEANOR L. Industrial Experiments in the British Colonies of North America . . . . .	269
Macmillan Company's fall publications . . . . .	415
McVEY, F. L. Minnesota. State, County, Township and City . . . . .	270
NORMAN, J. H. Norman's Universal Cambist . . . . .	270
RENWICK <i>see</i> KELLIE.	
SCHMOLLER, G. Ueber einige Grundfragen der Socialpolitik und der Volkswirtschaftslehre . . . . .	271
SHAXBY, W. J. An Eight-hours Day . . . . .	271
SMITH, J. Cases on Selected Topics in the Law of Municipal Corporations . . . . .	416
SOMBART, W. (Trans. A. P. Atterbury). Socialism and the Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century . . . . .	415
TRAILL, H. D. (Editor). Social England, Vol. VI. . . . .	117
TURGOT, A. R. J. (Editor W. J. Ashley). Reflections on the Formation and the Distribution of Riches . . . . .	273
WILSON, W. The State. Revised Edition . . . . .	416
<hr/>	
Books received . . . . .	170, 324, 457

## NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

CONDUCTED BY L. S. ROWE.

Baltimore . . . . .	307
Berlin . . . . .	155, 311
Boston . . . . .	149, 304, 443
Buffalo . . . . .	152, 446
Chicago . . . . .	153, 305
Cincinnati . . . . .	309, 445
Cleveland . . . . .	446
Gas and Electric Light Commissioners in Massachusetts . . . . .	148
Massachusetts . . . . .	148, 304
Municipal Receipts and Expenditures . . . . .	436
New York . . . . .	144, 301
Omaha . . . . .	448
Paris . . . . .	311
Philadelphia . . . . .	148
San Francisco . . . . .	310
Street Railways in Illinois . . . . .	153
Street Railways in Massachusetts . . . . .	304

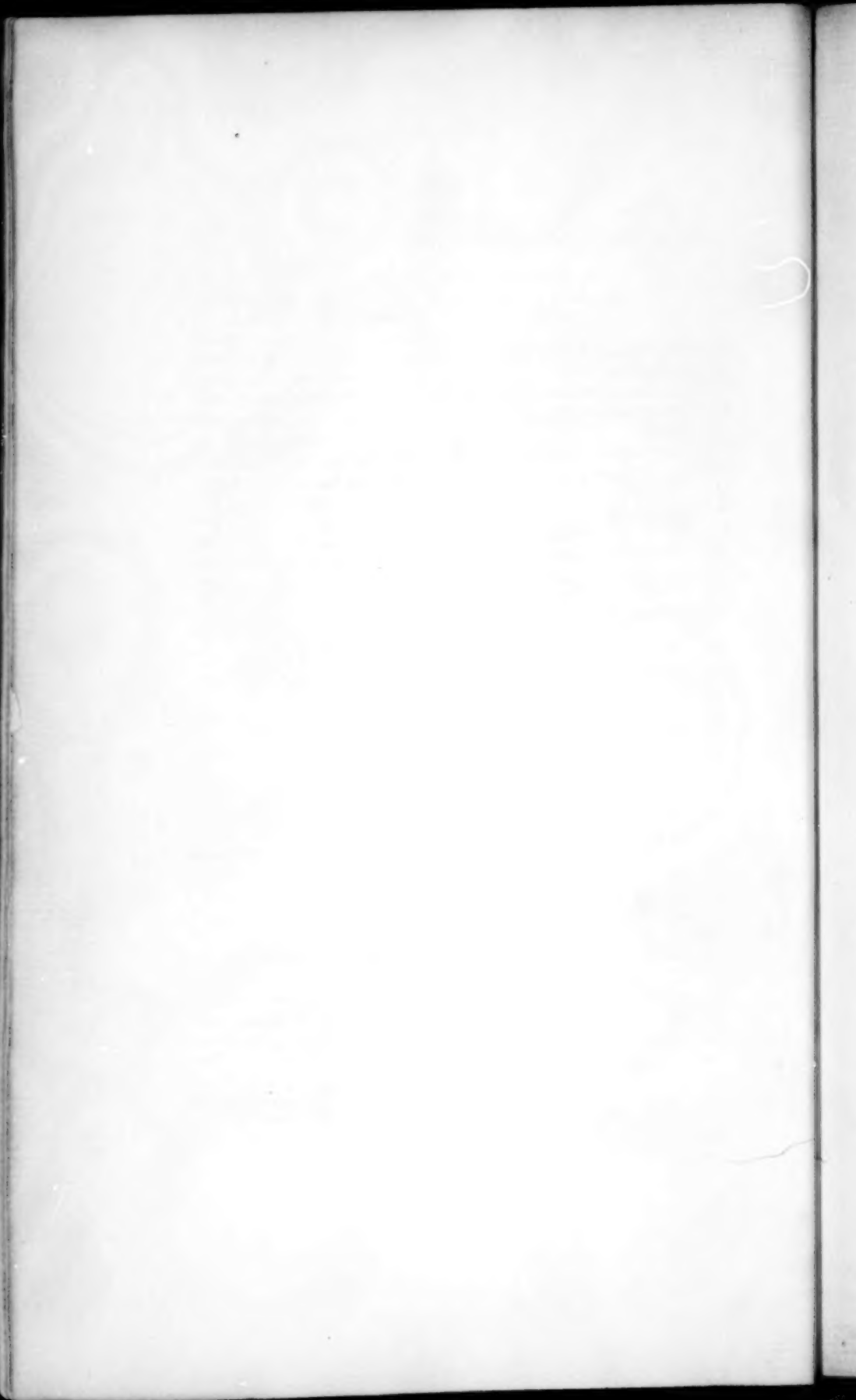
# CONTENTS.

vii

## SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

CONDUCTED BY S. M. LINDSAY.

	PAGE.
Charities, Abuses in New York . . . . .	158
Charity Clearing House . . . . .	313
Charities, Municipal and County, in the United States . . . . .	164
Charities, Public, in Massachusetts . . . . .	452
Civic Ideals . . . . .	314
Convict Labor and the Employment of Foreigners . . . . .	168
Housing, Improved . . . . .	161
Liquor Problem . . . . .	451
National Growth . . . . .	317
Poor Law in England since 1885 . . . . .	159
Poor Laws in Massachusetts . . . . .	157
Pulpit and Social Problems . . . . .	169
Summer School in Philanthropy . . . . .	319
Vagabondage, French Commission on, . . . . .	450



JULY.

1898

ANNALS  
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THE STUDY AND TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF 1898.

The members of the American Academy of Political and Social Science are so widely scattered geographically that the Committee on Meetings decided early in 1897 to hold an annual meeting made up of several sessions on consecutive days. Such a meeting it was hoped would prove a sufficient attraction to bring members from a distance who would not feel justified in coming to Philadelphia for a single session. Just as in the beginning several papers on topics without any necessary relation to each other were presented at the ordinary sessions, though later it was found expedient to limit the discussions at any one session to a single topic, so at the first annual meeting, held in April, 1897, there were four sessions each with a distinct topic. In planning for the annual meeting of 1898 the committee adopted a policy which departed somewhat radically from the usual procedure at annual gatherings and conventions. It was decided to have one general topic for all the sessions, with closely related sub-topics for the several separate sessions. We believed that whatever our program might lose in general attractiveness and drawing power in respect to numbers, it

would more than gain in effectiveness and in permanent scientific value.

Of course for the first experiment in this line it was necessary to select as broad a topic as possible. In view of the fact that the International Institute of Sociology at its third congress held in Paris in July, 1897, had devoted the major part of its time to a discussion of the scope and method of sociology, it was proposed to present the results of American thought and experience along the same lines as those brought out at Paris, but arranged particularly with a view to supplementing that discussion. The topic chosen therefore was: "The Study and Teaching of Sociology."

#### I. THE PRACTICAL VALUE OF SOCIOLOGY.

Professor Franklin H. Giddings, of Columbia University, the foremost representative of sociology as a specialty in the American academic world and one of the vice-presidents of the Academy, was invited by the Committee on Meetings to deliver the annual address at the opening session held on the evening of April 11.

Dr. Giddings chose for his topic a question which lies at the root of all the discussion in America, both inside and out of academic circles, concerning the status of sociology, namely, "The Practical Value of Sociology." Much of the opposition to this new science, especially that which is represented by some of the great American daily papers, is of course inspired by the feeling that sociological investigation may lead to discoveries inimical to existing and vested rights in property and to established customs in our political, educational and religious life. While this constitutes the real reason why the representatives of vested rights view with some apprehension the growing interest in sociological research, curiously enough the greatest popular demand for such work has come, not from the extreme radicals, but from many very conservative quarters, especially from those engaged in social reform of various kinds with a view to



improving and making tolerable the present social régime. This combination of circumstances has very generally raised the question as to the practical results to be obtained from the study of sociological literature.

Dr. Giddings began his address with a reference to the paper which Dr. Ernst Mach read at the Vienna meeting in 1894 of the German Association of Naturalists and Physicians, in which he recalled the definition of mechanics given by Kirchhoff twenty years previously. This definition which said that mechanics is "the description, in complete and very simple terms, of the motions occurring in nature," created general astonishment in scientific circles, because no reference was made in a definition of the most exact and most advanced science to explanation, prediction and to the search for first principles or causes as the criteria of science. Dr. Giddings commented on the meaning of scientific description as used by Kirchhoff and maintained that explanation, prediction and formulation of laws are nothing more nor less than that description which puts together facts in a coherent system or continuum which accurately corresponds to the coherent system or continuum of reality.

Again, referring to Mach and Kirchhoff, it was stated that the object of science is to extend description, in the scientific sense of the word, "until it includes all knowable facts of matter, life, mind and society, and places each fact in its proper place in the complete system."

Continuing, Dr. Giddings says:

"This conception of science—the only one which a critical examination of the nature of our knowledge permits us to entertain, clearly reveals the exact practical value of science. As science approaches perfection, the description of the cosmos becomes continuous. We discover that every known fact has points of contact, in co-existence and in sequence, with other known facts. The lines and colors in our chart of the universe are not drawn or splashed at random; they lie before the mental vision in a marvelous order of gradations, proportions, series and systems. All the facts in any part of our chart are seen to be related to all facts in every other part."

"So we arrive at the conception of nature as a system of interdependent facts. This conception once reached, we perceive exactly what we mean when we say that science enables us to predict combinations of facts not hitherto observed. Convinced by what we already know, that our further description of nature will not derange the system already apparent in our chart, we expect that further knowledge will merely continue the curves already partly drawn, without changing their equations, fill in unknown terms of series without changing their formulæ, and supply shades of color that will not disturb the scheme already apparent. Science thus enables us to anticipate facts not yet actually observed. If, then, we admit that science is description and that description both reveals and presupposes the interdependence of the descriptive elements, we can accept the theoretical and practical conclusion at which Dr. Mach arrives, that science completes in thought facts that are only partly given.

"This conclusion, I affirm, is no less practical than theoretical, because if such is the nature and function of science, science enables us to accommodate our conduct or policy to combinations of facts not yet completely made, but which science assures us will, in the course of time, be made—at least approximately—in the world of reality. The more nearly perfect our description of any part of that world becomes, the more closely may we adapt our plans, not only to the things that now are, but to the things that shall be hereafter."

If the word "description" can properly characterize so advanced a science as mechanical physics, Dr. Giddings maintains that it is broad enough to characterize the comparatively new and as yet very imperfect science of sociology.

"To make our description of human society more accurate, more coherent, is a task grand enough to awaken the enthusiasm and inspire the labor of any man who has enough of the scientific spirit to justify a career of sociological investigation;" and a sufficient definition of sociology is that it is "a scientific description of society."

It would seem from the above account that Dr. Giddings is willing boldly to claim that sociology is a fundamental and general science of associated life and activity, which is to be justified by its practical results measured by its successes in detecting and discovering facts hitherto overlooked or neglected by the more special social sciences. It may be noted, however, that the view here put forth makes

definite provision for the use of both the deductive and inductive methods of research.

In the next place, Dr. Giddings discussed some of the descriptive elements of sociology and their practical value for the determination of private conduct and public policy, and in this connection discussed the question, what is society? and what does it stand for in our every day use of the term? The answer to this question furnishes the starting point for descriptive analysis.

"Nearly two thousand years ago, one of the most gifted men of any age found himself under the immediate necessity of trying, for a great practical purpose, to single out and force upon the attention of mankind the most essential, persistent and formative fact of human society. That man was the Apostle Paul. He had been converted to a new religion; and had become its chief interpreter and missionary. Accepting the duty which circumstances and his own nature placed before him, of attempting to spread and organize the new faith throughout the known world, he was compelled to examine with the utmost care the question of the social form in which this new interest should be incorporated. All of the older religions against which Christianity was to make headway had grown into elaborate social systems, with their priesthoods, their carefully graded ranks or classes of believers, their rituals and festivals. Against their formalism Christianity protested. Its own social principle, like its individual principle, must be inward and spiritual, rather than external and legal. We may well believe that during those three years which the Apostle spent in retirement in Arabia, working out the details of his system, he gave most serious thought to this social aspect of his problem. It was necessary for him to find a psychological fact or principle of social organization which should be also universal, as true for the Roman as for the Jew, for the Barbarian as for the Greek; so simple that the bondman no less than the free could grasp it, yet so rich in possibilities that the philosophical disputants of Mars Hill and the practical lawyers on the Capitoline might be expected to accept and develop it. What, then, was the social fact that this subtle thinker and eminently practical man under such circumstances, fixed upon as essential and all-comprehensive?

"It was the fact of like-mindedness. Over and over in his Epistles he forces this fact upon the attention of his readers, and warns them to give heed to it. 'Be of the same mind one towards another,' he says to the Romans; and in the same Epistle he prays for them that

they may be of the same mind; that with one accord and with one mouth they may glorify their God. The Corinthians he beseeches to 'speak the same thing;' to 'have no divisions' among them; that they may be 'perfected together in the same mind and in the same judgment.' And the Philippians he implores to 'stand fast in one spirit, with one soul;' to 'be of the same mind, having the same love, being of one accord.' That it was in truth Paul who first seized upon this social principle for practical purposes, we have positive proof. Only in two other places, outside of the writings of Paul, can any allusion to it be found in either the Old or the New Testament. One is in the first Epistle of Peter, where the expression 'finally, be ye all like-minded' is so exactly the phraseology of Paul that we can hardly doubt that it was borrowed from him. The other is in Revelations where ten kings are spoken of as having one mind. That Paul himself derived the suggestion from the Greeks is highly probable, since Aristotle, in the 'Ethics,' quotes the saying that 'birds of a feather flock together,' and recalls a contention of Empedocles that 'like desires like.' But so far as we know, neither Greek nor Jew before Paul ever singled out this principle as the all-essential fact to be remembered in the development of any plan of social organization.

"Was Paul right in his selection of the essential social fact? Speaking only for myself, and leaving other investigators of society to form their own conclusions from all available evidence, I must say that after many years of persistent thought upon this question, I am fully persuaded that he was absolutely and profoundly right. If this is true, we have at once our provisional definition of society—the conception from which we go forward to a more complete description. The like-mindedness upon which Paul insists is known and understood to be such by the individuals who share it. Not only do A and B agree in their thoughts, feelings, purposes; but both A and B are aware of their agreement. Moreover, they perceive that agreement is pleasurable; that the fruits of concord are happiness and peace; that discord is wretchedness, and is liable to end in misery and disunion. They strive, as Paul enjoins them, to be without divisions, and to be perfected together in the same mind and the same judgment. What then is a society? Obviously, it is any number of like-minded individuals, who know and enjoy their like-mindedness, and are therefore able to work together for common ends."

Even the societies, which seem to have a physical rather than a psychological basis of existence, such as villages, cities and nations, are still natural aggregations of people which have developed a social organization because of like-

mindedness. This is the essence of a political system. The practical value of this first step in the scientific description of society is, then, said to be a scientific justification of "that instinct of mankind which opposes a rapid influx of alien elements into any existing population which is fairly homogeneous, and which resists all heresy, schism, and dissension when carried beyond a certain point." This scientific description of society, however, must also give an account of variation. Like-mindedness is the cause of all social stability, and unlike-mindedness the cause of social variation. Changes for better or for worse depend on the introduction of new types of character, new ways of thinking, new habits and new ambitions.

"Progress, in short, is the continuous harmonizing of a continually appearing unlikeness of feeling, thought and purpose in the community with a vast central mass of already established agreements. Thus we arrive at the second practical value of sociology. It enables us to see that while a fundamental harmony of beliefs and interests must, if possible, be maintained in any social population or artificial social organization; and while it may, at times, be necessary to check a too rapid inflow of alien elements; or a too radical development of dissenting opinions, in themselves immigration and dissent are necessary and good, and are to be welcomed just to the extent that they can be assimilated. Their function is to leaven the lump, not to explode it."

In the next place, the annual address discussed the methods of social change. It was stated that a great deal of social progress goes on as quietly and unconsciously as the growth of a forest.

"Slight differences of nationality are assimilated; minor peculiarities of manner are imitated; modifications of opinion are effected until, in the course of time, a really important metamorphosis of society has taken place, and no one can tell exactly how."

Other changes, however, like the Puritan rebellion in England, the American revolution of 1776, the ratification of the federal constitution, the abolition of negro slavery, and the establishment of the French republic, come only as



a result of the voluntary and combined action of great masses of men. Such rapid transformations are due either to impulsive, unreasoning social action, of which the mob is an illustration, or to deliberation and discussion.

"Sociology, by its more accurate description of the conditions and processes of mob action, can add nothing to the repugnance which all calm-minded men feel toward such outbreaks of the brute nature that still survives in man. Nevertheless, the sociological description of the mob contributes two new elements of great practical value to our knowledge of this subject. The first is a demonstration that in all cases of impulsive outbreak the transition from violent talk to violent action is first made by the irrepressible quasi-criminal elements of the population. Riots, insurrections, revolutions, rarely begin with the striking of a well-directed blow by a disciplined force, under the command of a far-seeing and cool-headed leader. They begin with assaults, thefts and homicides, with volleys of stones, with random shootings and stabbings, with the looting of shops, and the lynching of opponents. History teems with examples. . . . The absolute impossibility of checking, until it has run its course, any mob action that has once fairly begun, has now been fairly established as a demonstrated sociological principle; and this is the second element which an accurate scientific description of society adds to our knowledge of the non-reasoning or impulsive modes of social transformation. From the moment that reason finally loses its control over masses of communicating men they instantly fall under the power of imitation and hypnotic suggestion; and emotional fury sweeps through them with increasing volume and accelerating velocity, as a conflagration sweeps through accumulations of combustible material. Impulsive social action, in short, proceeds not slowly through the mass, as water filters through sand, but with the frightful acceleration of a geometrical progression. This law has been fully established by psychological and sociological research, and it is no more open to doubt than is the law of gravitation. No fact of social knowledge is of greater practical importance. The only way to prevent the devastating consequences of epidemic madness is to multiply in the community the number of those men who habitually subordinate feeling to reason, and who, therefore, cannot become a part of the combustible material of the mob spirit. . . .

"Under what conditions are irrationality, hypnotic susceptibility, willingness to follow without question or resistance any suggested course of action most likely to prevail in the community? Are we maintaining educational influences or agencies whose certain

tendency is to multiply the number of unreasoning, impulsive members of society? When our question is put in this way I cannot doubt that you will immediately foresee the answer that must be made. In the name of religion, society for generations has cherished a dangerous influence, and has encouraged the practice of arts that menace the happiness and the further progress of mankind. Of all mistaken teachers in the community the professional revivalist is most to be feared. The revival meeting is, and always has been, the chief school of impulsive action. Throughout human history the revival has been the foster mother of the mob. . . . The methods of the professional revivalist are those of the professional hypnotizer. The only difference is that they are somewhat more refined, and keep their machinery a little more out of sight. The revivalist tells his hearers that their reason is the most deadly enemy of their souls; that the deliberating, critical habit of mind endangers their eternal salvation; that their only safety lies in immediately acting upon the impulse which he is striving to awaken in their bosoms. . . . Do you expect that men and women who surrender themselves to the influence of such teaching in the revival meeting will act coolly, reasonably and courageously in the affairs of secular life? Do you suppose that those who yield unresistingly to the impassioned appeal of the exhorter will be unmoved by the harangue of the partisan 'whoop-er-up,' or resist the impulse to follow blindly the lead of the boss who, like his religious preceptor, exacts unquestioning obedience, and visits condign punishment upon the skeptic? Certainly you do not; and the longer you think this matter over the more fully satisfied will you become of the truth of this conclusion which, I venture to assert, is one of the fundamental truths of a scientific description of society: that so long as revivalism is possible the overthrow of Plattism, Crokerism and Quayism will be impossible. Let us not deceive ourselves with the belief that we can make men irrational, impulsive, hypnotic creatures for the purposes of religion, and then expect them to be cool-headed, critical, rational men for the purposes of politics."

Dr. Giddings went on to say that the chief element in social control in communities where reason and deliberation flourish, is the criticism of social values, understanding the term "social value" to be the regard or esteem which we feel for any social habit, relation or institution, measured as to intensity by the sacrifices which we are willing to make for it. Thus, social values like economic values, "are determined by a process of comparison extended

throughout the entire range of possible utilities and costs." Sociology reveals two great orders of social values, namely, those that are ends to be attained and those that are simply means to the attainment of ends, a distinction analogous to economic categories in which goods are either for final consumption or used in production and described as capital.

"The objects of all endeavor, whether of individuals or of communities, are life, happiness and the development of our rational personality. Society itself is simply a means to those ends. . . . It should be one of the chief functions of the teacher of sociology to repeat and to insist until mankind does see and admit that customs, usages, institutions, parties, churches, creeds, have no sacredness in themselves, and no other warrant for their existence than may be found in their power to contribute, either to the safe and comfortable maintenance of human life, or to the further progress of the human mind in knowledge, power, reasonableness and moral perfection."

In the concluding portion of the annual address, Dr. Giddings maintained that the scientific description of society not only reveals the relativity of all our social arrangements, but gives a rough estimate of the comparative importance of means and ends. "I mean to affirm that all social institutions are related in a definite way to the fundamental social fact of like-mindedness; and that all criticism of social values must proceed with due reference to this condition." In illustrating this point, three popular and much discussed social values embodied in the phrase "liberty, equality and fraternity" were described. Reference was made to the position of Sir James Fitz-James Stephen who claimed that these three values are fundamentally irreconcilable, and that if equalities are maintained liberties must be sacrificed. Dr. Giddings said, "Actually, there have been innumerable small democracies here and there, and innumerable religious societies and fraternal organizations in which all three of these democratic ideals have, at the same time, been fairly well realized." Of course the terms were discussed as relative terms, and all that is meant is that approximation to equality and to liberty is sufficiently great to outweigh the

inequalities and restraints. It was further noted that those communities and social organizations which fairly well maintained both equality and liberty and reconciled them with a good degree of fraternity, were generally noted for their homogeneity; while those which have sacrificed either equality or liberty have been in a high degree heterogeneous. Thus, modern cities, like New York and Philadelphia, "have completely lost that approximate balance of liberty and equality which they originally maintained, and present to our view an astonishing medley of specific liberties and specific equalities, offset by inequalities and restrictions that our forefathers would have deemed inconceivable." The possible co-existence of these three ideals depends largely on their sequence, which the speaker maintained had always been equality, fraternity, liberty.

"Only as a certain degree of equality is maintained can there be homogeneity or like-mindedness. Nothing will so surely bring about an irreconcilable conflict of feeling and opinion as a great inequality of economic condition, of political status, or of educational opportunity. All of the great social conflicts of history have originated in inequality. . . . Just to the extent that there develops in the community an ethical spirit which leads us to resist the monopolization by the few of resources and opportunities that should be the common heritage of all mankind, to demand that our public school system of education shall be perfected, and that our laws shall be equally enforced, our nation may become republican in fact as in name and tradition."

In conclusion the speaker said: "I have now indicated many of the practical values of sociology. The list is by no means complete. I have only selected those chiefly important ones which are more immediately connected with the chiefly important propositions of sociological theory. Sociology enables us to govern, in a measure, the conditions on which social stability and social progress depend. It enables us to appreciate the profound distinction between impulsive and rational social change, and to discover the dangers that lurk in the practice of attaching the sanctions of religion to irrationality. In addition to all these services, sociology enables us to attempt a rational and constructive criticism of our social values, and to combine them in a realizable social ideal. It extends its scientific description of society into the past, and projects it into the future. Its forecast is no

impossible Utopia. It assumes that if the work of description is accurately done in the present, the sociologist of the future will have no occasion to substitute for it a wholly new system of facts; but will only complete the system already begun. In a word, the supreme practical value of sociology is that it, like every other science, completes in thought, for the daily guidance of mankind, a system of facts that, as yet, are only partly given."

The following is a brief summary of the discussion on the annual address, an opportunity being given for this purpose on the following day, April 12, at the morning session.

Professor LEO S. ROWE (University of Pennsylvania):—

"There are two questions of principle and one of fact, concerning which I am not perfectly certain whether I grasp the meaning which Professor Giddings intended to convey. In his analysis of the logic of social progress, my impression was that Professor Giddings regards concerted action resulting from impulse or feeling as essentially retrogressive in its influence upon the social or political conditions of the community, and that the kind of political action which will be progressive has its foundation in that conscious deliberation, that careful weighing of pleasures and pains, of cause and effect, of which he gave a number of instances. The first question that arises in my mind is whether the speaker intended to convey the idea that action resulting from feeling is the same thing as action resulting from impulse. The second question relates to his analysis of the fact that, in our American communities, we find certain influences—of which he gave a specific instance in boss rule—largely forming and influencing our present political conditions. As I understood the speaker, the explanation of many of our political evils is to be found in the dominance of unreasoning action in our community. One of the reasons for boss rule is the fact that large classes in the community find it to be to their personal gain or profit to act in subservience to boss rule, and this is the idea which is usually accepted. Is it Professor Giddings' idea that the boss represents a kind of ideal personality to the average individual and that he is willing to throw his lot with that particular individual who represents a force rather than with a person representing principles that appeal to his reason? My third question is a question of fact. That is, whether this increased like-mindedness, to which the speaker referred, is at the bottom of many of our political ideals and whether it offers the possibility for the realization of political ideals. Is this like-mindedness anything more than a state of mind which is determined by other considerations?



France at the present day while homogeneous has in no sense realized political liberty. But the forces which have been at work in France, where you have great like-mindedness, are to be explained mainly on the basis of certain peculiarities in French national character, which are the result of French historical development."

Professor GIDDINGS :—

"I think the first two questions can be answered together and in the same way, if I understand Professor Rowe's inquiry. I do not hold that all progressive action necessarily follows from a weighing and calculation of pleasures and pains, of costs and utilities. I hold that the greater part of all progressive action proceeds from feeling. But, we may have any one of three states of mind in a man who is confronted with a new situation. He may receive a sudden stimulus and instantly react upon it by almost reflex action, not stopping at all to weigh and consider or criticise. He may receive the same shock, the same impulse and feel himself moved to act, but may pull himself together, study, criticise, think it over, and then perhaps act or not. Or, he may find himself confronted by a situation that does not move him to sudden purpose in the same way, but that calls upon him to reason, to weigh and consider, to calculate pleasures and pains. Now, the first and the last of these cases stand opposed to one another. In the first you have the man whose action is hardly more than reflex; in the last you have the man who is a cold-blooded utilitarian. The average man is the man who is moved, a great deal moved by the new situation that confronts him, whose first impulse is to act at once but who stops and considers. The actions that I discussed in my paper were these: Take the case of this second man, who is moved to act impulsively but who stops and thinks. You get two kinds of action out of this one situation, and from this average man under different circumstances. In the one case he leans strongly toward his first impulse, he forgets to criticise, he does not go on to weigh and consider, but acts impulsively. In the other case he still has the same impulse, but he does stop to weigh and consider. My point is, that most of the constructive changes in society are due to the actions of those who have a thinking, a critical habit of mind; those who stop to consider, to weigh, and to think things over. Sweep away this habit and you have the mob. The practical lesson is: Keep these habits of criticism well with you. When you have the impulse to reform and change things, be critical, be rational, be reasonable, then let your impulses act themselves out. This is my reply to the first and second questions.

"If I understand the third question I agree with Professor Rowe in his statement that like-mindedness is a particular state of mind and

that to make it potential you must have some outside forces to act upon it. In other words, you have like-mindedness when you have two persons or more who feel in the same way about a given thing; whose impulse is to act in the same way upon a given situation, or, who if they think it over, come to the same opinion about it. Now, that thing that they feel in the same way about may be anything at all. The thing upon which they agree, upon which they are like-minded, may be a common opinion that they like boss government. They may be the sort of people who, as has been said of the people of France, like centralization, and who do not care anything for individual liberty. Or, they may be the people of another nation who are agreed and who are like-minded in their love of individual liberty and in their impulse to defend it at any moment and at any price. In other words, you have like-mindedness when you have that likeness among any people which makes it practically certain that under the same circumstances they will act in the same way. That agreement may be, as I say, upon any subject. The like-mindedness may exist in any particular mental state; it may be in love of restraint, or it may be in love of liberty.

President CHARLES DEGARMO (Swarthmore College):—

"I had a query in my mind last night which has been partially answered by the questions and answers already given. A part of that query still remains, and that refers to the educational side of this question. The first query was, is not this like-mindedness more a feeling, a social feeling, than it is a social intelligence, and, if that is true, is it not perfectly legitimate to develop social feelings? The one instance was given of a bad social education, namely, that aroused by revivals. Now, I am just wondering whether that is at bottom a bad education. First of all, it is pre-eminently a social training, and the question whether it is bad or not will have to be determined not so much by a formal principle as by a condition of it. What sort of a social feeling does it develop? Where have the great mobs been? I think France perhaps noted for that sort of phenomenon, and yet no one accuses the religious sentiment of that country of exerting any influence in this matter. The Catholic church is free from the revival spirit, which has belonged largely in the past to the Methodist church. It is now passing from that to the Salvation Army. It was characteristic of a primitive state of our society. The revival meetings were held, I should say, where the mob principle does not rule, and I cannot see, therefore, that there is very much force in that statement. We must take the conditions into consideration. The negroes in the South were mentioned as a people given to that sort of feeling, and yet if one looks at the South one sees that it is not among the people who

attend revivals that this feeling exists, but among the people who do not participate in these revivals. The mobs are from the whites in the South and not from the negroes. I should, therefore, like to have a little further light upon this point; how largely the sort of feeling must be taken into consideration, and whether an appeal to feeling is a bad thing and taking the people in a wrong way."

Professor GIDDINGS:—

"I think I detect three questions in the remarks made by Dr. DeGarmo. The first is, whether like-mindedness is chiefly a matter of feeling or of intelligence. It is neither. It is at the bottom a like-responsiveness to the same impulse; the fundamental psychological fact of sensation and reaction. If, as I have elsewhere expressed it, two children are simultaneously, or not necessarily simultaneously, but in like manner, pleased by the color red, these two children are to that extent psychologically alike. Or, to take a different example, if one hundred men sell securities on a rumor of war, they are affected in the same way by the same impulse. Like-mindedness is a similarity of brain and nervous organization, so that two or more men respond in the same way to the same impulse; consequently, you may get either feeling or intelligence in your like-mindedness as a secondary fact.

"As to the point brought up by Dr. DeGarmo in reference to the Roman Catholic church, I should say that this church, in Spain, for instance, has certainly shown antagonism to the revival spirit. But Spain shows to-day the result of simply another method of accomplishing the same thing that the revival spirit accomplishes. I say that revival work is deleterious in its effects not on account of its appeal to feeling as such, but because that appeal is coupled with the statement that a man must act first and think afterward. That is just what the Roman Catholic church teaches; you must obey authority first, and you must not criticise; you must do as you are told. That, too, is what the revivalist says; put aside criticism! do not think!

"I now come to the question of the negroes and mobs in the South. If you will take the trouble to make two maps of the United States and locate on one of them the places where, all through the years preceding the civil war, and immediately after the civil war, revivals were carried on in the most thoroughgoing fashion among the whites, and on the other locate the places where the lynchings have taken place in the last ten years, you will find that those maps agree."

Professor ROBERT LAIRD STEWART (Lincoln University):—

"I think we shall all agree that where there is fanaticism the outcome cannot be good, but only evil. We know that there is a great deal of that for lack of knowledge, in connection with the so-called revivals among the negroes of the South. I must say, however, that I

think it is hardly fair to present that as an instance of what is really meant by revival influence in general in our day. It seems to me it is wrong to couple the work that Mr. Moody has been doing with that kind of influence. I have felt that one statement ought not to go unchallenged in the address of Professor Giddings, to which I listened with great pleasure, and that was in connection with revival meetings. We must look at this thing in its immediate bearing upon society, for we are here to investigate the influences that bear upon the good of the community. As a matter of fact anything that is uplifting in its nature in individual cases will be a benefit to society. I have frequently been on the track of Mr. Moody, as he has passed through this country and other countries, and I am here to testify that a blessed influence has followed his work, a work which has been going on for over thirty years. The great revival of 1857 that swept over this land resulted in good. I could take you to communities that have been awakened and uplifted by that influence, and are now the most law-abiding communities in our land. In Western Pennsylvania to-day good results for society are still seen from the movements which were started in the time of that great revival. Spiritual influences are the greatest uplifting power we have. I wish to say also that I have never heard an address from Mr. Moody, or from others who were laboring earnestly to bring men to Christ, in which they have demanded that men should surrender themselves without thought. They are asked to think and to choose; and I have heard from Mr. Moody's lips and from his associates some of the most earnest presentations of truth that men might think and might act. They plead with men to consider their ways; to repent of sin; to search the Scriptures; to choose between right and wrong, Christ and Belial. The results which have followed are not due to hypnotic influences, but the divine power which accompanies the presentation of truth. These effects have followed the preaching of the gospel since the day of Pentecost."

Mr. JOHN J. CHAPMAN (New York):—

"I am on the side of the revivalist. I cannot see what any of us are at except to work for the good of the individual, and I am unable to believe that Professor Giddings, or any one who has as much obvious benevolence in his appearance, cares for anything else. It is all a question of how this thing is manifested. The Salvation Army is the religious expression of this feeling and acts as a means of individual growth to a certain type of man."

Professor JOHN J. McNULTY (College of the City of New York):—

"Of course I feel compelled, as every one else who listened to Professor Giddings' address, to testify to its excellence. There is a

certain quality of mind, however, which Professor Giddings has failed to consider, and that is the mind of the genius. Such a mind displays one fact and that is that the genius acts on the impulse. How, therefore, would he qualify his statement in order to make room for the spirit of the genius in relation to social progress?"

Rev. SAMUEL J. DIKE, D. D. (Auburndale, Mass.):—

"How would the sociologist regard the men of genius and the men of the highest culture who act both from feeling and intelligence, with a more or less proportionate distribution of the two? I would ask if it is not the combination of these two qualities which gives us the different grades of society?"

Rev. R. I. HOLAND, S. J. (Woodstock College, Maryland):—

"I wish to qualify a statement of Professor Giddings. There are occasions when a man is not obliged to deliberate before acting. He need not think and consider a long time before paying a debt for instance. A man must be sure that an impulse is right and that the command comes from the right authority, and deliberation is not then always necessary."

Professor GIDDINGS:—

"As to the method by which we are to control impulsive action in the community, that is a question which is directly related to what was asked in regard to the classes of society by Dr. Dike, and with what was asked about the genius by Dr. McNulty. I think that I perfectly agree with what Dr. Dike and Professor McNulty say. I think with Dr. Dike that we do have just those gradations in society, and I think with Professor McNulty that the genius is quite a distinct element in our problem and that he largely does act from impulse, and that it is only some time after he has acted that we begin to analyze the result. The answer that I have to make in regard to the genius really contains the answer to all the other questions.

"Not so very long ago an Italian anthropologist wrote an interesting book in which he tried to prove that the genius is a kind of lunatic. I am sure we do not accept that conclusion. But it is true that men of genius are in their nervous organization very often extremely like men of unbalanced mind, and it is moreover true that men of genius very often become lunatics. There seems to be a connection between the two which we are not able to understand; yet the community does discriminate in regard to two classes of men who claim to be geniuses, or who are regarded as geniuses by some one or other. It says some of those men are geniuses and some are cranks. How does society decide? Does it decide by impulse? It does not; it decides by criticism. All that we mean by sound progress in art, literature and music is summed up in two words: the genius, and the criticism of the



works of genius. All that I have to say just now is this: that we cannot get on in society, we do not want to get on in society, without the man of feeling, without the man of impulse, without the man of genius. They are the motive forces that carry society on to higher and better things, but we must know in what direction we are going. We must know whether the impulse we follow is a right impulse; we must know whether the authority is a right authority. I also want to say that the objections which I raised were to the methods of the revivalist, not to revivals, and what I have to say about those methods is that they destroy the spirit of calm, critical inquiry. It is necessary for society to know whether we are going right or wrong. And, finally, I may say in reply to one other question, namely, shall we stop and consider before paying a debt, that if there is any doubt in my mind as to whether I owe the debt I shall stop and think over it for a long time."

At the fourth and last session, on Wednesday morning, April 13, the topic of the relation of sociology to philanthropy was discussed. Dr. Frederick H. Wines, secretary of the State Board of Charities in Illinois, and the special agent on pauperism and crime of the United States census in 1880 and 1890, opened the discussion with a paper on "Sociology and Philanthropy," which was read by the present writer in Dr. Wines' absence. Dr. Wines expected to be in attendance, but was prevented by the urgent relief work at Shawnee, Ill., which was placed in his charge. His paper is printed in full in this number of the ANNALS, and should be read in connection with this report. Dr. Wines made an earnest plea not for the identification of sociology and philanthropy, but for the mutual recognition on the part of students and workers of the aid which each group can render to the other through intimate and friendly relations being established. Dr. E. T. Devine, secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York City, was expected to speak on the recent "Results of Sociological Investigation in Practical Philanthropy," but though in attendance at the earlier sessions of the annual meeting, Dr. Devine was taken sick while here and we were deprived of the pleasure of listening to him on a subject with which he



is so familiar. Miss Mary E. Richmond, secretary of the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore, came next on the program, and spoke on the "Training of Philanthropic Workers," the point of contact *par excellence* between students of sociology and practical workers in philanthropy. The following is a partial report of Miss Richmond's remarks, together with a summary of the subsequent discussion:

"In taking up the subject of 'The Training of Philanthropic Workers' I am going to limit myself to paid charity workers. The training of voluntary workers is quite a different matter. First of all, what is the position of paid charity workers to-day? I think it can be safely said that there is an absence of any standard among such workers. It is true that some have received highly specialized training in their own department; for instance, where medical and charity work overlap. Also, there are skilled nurses engaged in district work, but very often they have had no training whatever as charity workers. Take our institutions that demand a medical superintendent; the superintendent generally sacrifices the charity side to the medical side at every turn. He has a very definite standard as far as medicine is concerned, but lacks a standard in charity work.

"Then I have noticed among our charity workers an absence even of a common language, not to mention the like-mindedness of which we heard yesterday. For instance, we had an experience recently: A trained kindergartner, who had done a great deal of charity work in Baltimore, was approached on the subject of a certain family where, in the opinion of the Charity Organization Society, the daughter was neglecting the mother. The mother was a dependent, and the daughter was assuming no responsibility whatever. The kindergartner was helping the family, and we asked her whether the daughter ought not to be required to help the mother. 'Oh, no,' she said, 'that would pauperize the daughter.' We were looking at the problem from two different points of view while dealing with the same family. She evidently thought that a reduction of income meant pauperism. We felt that pauperism was a deterioration of character; that it was a habit of mind rather than a condition of pocketbook. This same kindergartner was helping a family where there was a very bright little girl, and she allowed this child to report to her the material needs of the family. The object of the kindergarten, as I understand it, is symmetrical development; yet she looked upon the child as the head of the family, and placed the mother and father quite in the background.

I simply cite these as illustrations of the fact that charity workers lack a common terminology and a common aim. However intelligent these workers may be, however skilled in their own department, they lack that knowledge of the relation of the parts to the whole which is necessary to do effective work.

"Though the kindergartner and the nurse get special training, I may add that the greater number of charity workers receive no training whatever. No training is provided in charity organization work, although that is becoming a highly specialized department. The need of training in this department of work has become so urgent that some societies have a sort of training school for their own agents. In Baltimore, formerly, when we were in search of a person to put in charge of a district office, we looked the field over for a middle-aged woman desirous of doing good in the world, but now, like the other large societies, we take agents in training. They are trained for a period of six or eight months before they are allowed to do any work at all, except under immediate supervision and direction.

"The present plan does not meet all our needs, however. To do charity organization work it is necessary to have not only a knowledge of the details of that work, but a general outlook on the whole field. It is necessary to secure co-operation with other societies and to have a sympathetic knowledge of their point of view; to have an understanding of the principles and difficulties of relief work and institutional work. This can only be brought about by systematic training.

"I know half a dozen charities that are seeking trained, paid leadership, and at the present time there seems to be no adequate supply of such workers. The colleges are turning out young men who have had some training in the theory of charity work, but these young men have had an expensive training and are looking forward to departments of work that offer higher rewards than charity workers receive. In the second place, the young man just out of college has had a pretty thorough equipment in theory but lacks knowledge on many practical points that the charity worker needs to have. He must have had experience of life among the poor, but he also needs a knowledge of life at first hand. The young man who has been given a position at the head of charitable societies has not always known how to deal with the business man, with the church worker and others with whom he has come in contact, and he has sometimes been a failure for this reason. In fact, no two charity organization societies are exactly alike; they must vary, and so the successful worker must adapt himself to the peculiar conditions of his own society.

"The question is, how are we going to get trained workers? The only suggestion I have to offer is the establishment of a training

school for paid charity workers, a training school where teaching and training should go hand-in-hand. The school should be located in a large city where practical work would be plentiful. Its teachers should be university graduates who have had adequate training in the social sciences, but who, at the same time, have had practical work in charities—just as much practical work as theory. They should be prepared to study and adapt themselves to the needs of the charities of the country. Such a school should be endowed, and might either be connected with some university in a large city, or else, and preferably, as I believe, might be quite independent. There is this objection to any academic connection: a great institution of learning casts a big shadow; and the immediate needs of the charities might not be so much considered as the traditions of the institution.

"I should like to see the school provide systematic training for workers in many branches of charity. Co-operation becomes natural when you have taken training side-by-side in institutional work and in the work of relief societies, charity organization societies and child-saving agencies; there are a number of things that ought to be learned in common. Such training should be begun by giving certain courses to all alike; then the classes could be divided and specialized later. The plan is, of course, as yet, very vague; but carried out properly it would meet a growing demand.

"It occurred to me that a theory, and a rather vague theory at that, might properly be brought here. Before most audiences it would be necessary for me to have found not only the endowment, but the right leader for such work before I could get a hearing for the plan. No such necessity limits me here. I hope you will criticise the plan very freely, for we charity workers need the trained thinking that you can bring to bear upon it."

Professor C. S. WALKER:—

"I should like to ask Miss Richmond whether the training schools in connection with the Young Men's Christian Associations, the College for Training in Christian Science in Springfield, Mass., and such kindred institutions supply at all the demand for these trained workers?"

Miss RICHMOND:—

"I have examined the curriculum of the college at Springfield, to which you refer, and I should say that it did not meet our demand. There are still members of the Young Men's Christian Association who do not approve of the trained secretaries. They claim that when the trained secretary goes into a small town he expects too many things. This, it seems to me, is an admirable endorsement of the school in a way. If the school trains the secretaries to want more,

they will get more; it is clear that they have a high ideal of what a secretary should be and do. The school I have outlined, however, must meet other needs."

Mr. F. H. McLEAN (Fellow in Sociology, University of Pennsylvania):

"While I fully agree with Miss Richmond's statement that special training is necessary it has always been a question with me whether the necessity for a separate school for that training exists. It seems to me that you could not get the full advantage from a school of this kind. We, in a way, need to obtain an outlook of much that falls outside of ordinary charities. In the last few years Professor Giddings has gotten his students interested in a number of specialized subjects in New York City. However, I would not at this moment say that that would fully meet the need.

"It was my fortune last year to make a directory of the charities in one of the larger cities of the country. It was surprising to see how many heads of different charities there were who did not know what the object of their charity was. In many cases they filled up a sheet or two in describing special objects of their organization but without any conception of the central thought about which that organization was built. In regard to a point suggested by the paper of Dr. Wines, it is interesting to note the stages in mental development in practical workers who have had very little theoretical training. This is particularly true of voluntary workers. At the beginning they look at everything from a personal standpoint, having no idea of what the final results of their acts will accomplish in so far as the spiritual side of those human beings with whom they come in contact is concerned. With greater experience they begin to see that it is not a mere matter of satisfying material wants. They then have reached the second stage and accept general principles which they apply to all cases which appear to come within the sphere of those principles. Of course that is a better state of mind than the first, but still imperfect. No true charity worker can go on without recognizing the fact that exceptions to rules are about as frequent as the cases in which they apply. The third stage, where the psychological analysis of the character of those with whom they are dealing is required, is hard for these practical workers to attain, even though they have been in the work for a long time. A theoretical training is necessary, therefore, to master these three stages."

Rev. Dr. SAMUEL W. DIKE (Auburndale, Mass.):—

"Our women's colleges are turning out large numbers of bright, enthusiastic, well-trained young women, who, as a general thing, have been seeking employment as teachers. They tell me that the

number of applicants is far out-running the number of positions. Since social science is being taught in our women's colleges and in co-educational institutions, we find that our women's clubs, which were formerly interested in literature, history and art, are beginning to attack social questions. I should like to know how far these institutions are providing for the training of women along this line. It has seemed to me that this would be one of the channels where college trained women would find a place."

Miss RICHMOND:—

"The experience of some of the leaders in Boston charities has led them to think that the women who have just come out of college are, generally, not a success in this work. They feel that the young woman just out of college has been removed from life and its normal relations for four or five years, and that until she gets readjusted and has had some first-hand experience of life, she is an impractical person in charitable work. The young women just out of college are not in a position to take leading places as paid workers and are not willing to begin at the bottom, although that, practically, is where they belong. Even an elderly church missionary, who has never heard of charitable or social theory, can go far ahead of these beginners in realizing and relieving the actual needs of a distressed family."

Professor E. J. JAMES (Chicago University):—

"I feel that the question being discussed is an extremely important one and that the two sides have been well brought out. The college graduate who finishes his course and who has any particular taste for this branch of subjects is looking forward to a career with a higher salary. The college graduate who is willing to take such a position for a year or two should expect a small salary. They are really not worth anything in the first year or two of their work, and they ought to be willing to pay for the experience they are getting. As a general thing they take such positions only for a time and know that they will not continue in that work. My observation bears out the view that Miss Richmond has expressed, namely, that in such work we do not get hold of the men who are worth anything. I should say that so long as women are satisfied with a smaller return for their services than men are, we have at least the possibility of finding efficient workers in the ranks of cultivated college women. What the university is actually doing for the training of young men and women in these subjects, I would like to hear from Dr. Lindsay who has had a special interest in this problem under conditions which are extremely favorable. He has been trying to solve a part of the problem."

DR. LINDSAY:—

"I have no doubt that a special school is needed for the training of



a certain class of persons who are to engage in charity work, especially paid workers, and that it will come in time. But, it seems to me that a more important question is how to provide for the very much larger number of individuals who want a little training, largely for voluntary work, and who could not be taken into a special school without spoiling the very idea of the school, but who can be made a hundred times more useful if they get a little training. In the first place, the college and the university should provide some training in these practical lines for all students whether they expect to take up this work or not. By this means it will be possible to stir up their interest in the questions of practical philanthropy which are being worked out. At the University of Pennsylvania we are trying to do this in the Wharton School; part of the instruction consisting of courses in practical sociology and social economics. One great difficulty, which has already been alluded to in our discussions, is the lack of suitable text-books to be used in work of this kind.

"A second way that this training might be provided for other than by the special school proposed, would be by the opening up of special courses in our colleges and universities. We have already broken up by the elective system the old idea of the courses in a college being a fixed thing. The elective system, however, has its weak point in one direction, namely, that every pupil is not wise enough to choose in the very best way for himself. The professor in charge, or the dean of the department has a large number of students to look after and cannot give much personal attention to an individual who desires to map out the best possible course looking to a definite career. Parents, as a rule, have not the ability to give the needed advice, and the student is at a loss to choose the very best combination of things. In our large universities we want a number of courses looking toward special ends. We need to have a number of combinations in our curriculum; one combination of a certain set of subjects being suited to those who expect to go into business, another combination suited to those who expect to go into law, still another for those who expect to go into practical philanthropic work, and so on. These courses should be combinations of highly specialized courses with a broad basis of general culture in the early years. The philanthropist talks about sociology as not being of much value to him. The course he has in mind may not be of value for his special work. He asks what the habits of primitive man have to do with practical philanthropy. But that kind of sociological course may be very useful to the future student of law and jurisprudence. The philanthropist needs a course in sociology adapted to his work. We want to get into each of these specialized courses a large number of subjects dealing with things that



will be of interest to persons looking forward to definite careers. Courses must be arranged by the colleges and universities which can be thrown open to persons who want some one thing without any reference to a degree as well as to students who are candidates in regular standing for a degree. In the graduate work of some institutions such provision is made.

"Another difficulty is to make those now engaged in philanthropic work see the need for a training other than they have had. I think that the Charity Organization Society will find that it has, in the long run, something to gain by offering its facilities to all students interested in the subject, and by devoting a little more time to encouraging students to co-operate with it. I have taken a number of students and placed them around in the different charity organization societies, selecting students who were willing to give a fair return in service for all they received. I have in mind one of my students who did a large amount of good work in the service of the Charity Organization Society, in New York, in return for the training he was getting out of it. Most of you are doubtless familiar with the plans announced this year in New York, where the Charity Organization Society offers to take a certain number of persons in its office for several weeks during the summer, assigning them certain work to do, and giving them the benefit of the records and of direct supervision. Another year they will go a step farther if this plan is successful, and have special instruction given to such persons. A number of lectures are to be given this year, but without any attempt to provide systematic courses.

"I think we have every reason to feel encouraged and to expect from the forces now at work in our colleges and universities that something will be materially added to practical work in charity; there is a broader outlook, a more scientific attitude toward these subjects. The demand for a special school exists and we must have that in time. Apart from that, however, is the other pressing problem of how to reach the large number of persons who constitute the existing army of practical voluntary workers."

Professor C. S. WALKER (State Agricultural College, Amherst, Mass):—

"I should like to ask what is the relation of the College Settlement houses, like the Hull House in Chicago, for instance, toward this question. There are a number of women living at these houses who are going out to do work in the slums."

Mr. F. H. McLEAN:—

"I should say that College and University Settlement work does undoubtedly give an outlook upon certain sorts of charities; but the

people that you meet in the University Settlement are not those that you most frequently meet in connection with the general charities of a city. Of course the idea of the University Settlement is simply to do away with artificial class distinctions, and the work is mostly with self-respecting people who are not in need of general charity. The number of those who can live at the University Settlement is small, and we could not, therefore, do a very extended work in this direction. One can get there an admirable outlook on social work, but is not confined to the charitable side of the question."

Mrs. SARA L. OBERHOLTZER (Philadelphia):—

"I believe in the school for training workers. I should like to call your attention, however, to the school savings banks which have been established in over 400 schools in the United States. In Girard College in this city, they have such a bank, and, according to a report received recently from Tacoma, Washington, one thousand children there had deposited \$200. The idea of such school savings banks is to train the children to save. If we train people to save we will not have so many paupers and will not need so many trained workers. If we will train the children, the children of the poor, to save small amounts of money and to use their money to the best advantage, there will be less need for charity workers."

Rev. R. I. HOLLAIND, S. J. (Woodstock College, Maryland):—

"The difficulty in charity work is in those who go into this work. Those who could be most useful, it seems to me, are medical students, law students and theological students, because they come in close contact with the poor more often than others. But, take medical students, for instance, what chances have they to make a living by making themselves agents of charitable institutions? They say a man must have technical knowledge if he wants to be very efficient, and, at the same time, a great many charities need persons with executive ability. It is difficult to find men who have both. I have seen a few cases in which the superintendent of an institution was a competent man, but comparatively few, because, generally, such men do not understand anything about business and the government of the house. I should say the chances of promotion in such work are much greater for those who have the foundation of knowledge in law or medicine."

Rev. WALTER LAIDLAW (New York City):—

"I should like to say a word about the difficulty of getting trained institutional workers. I have in mind one institution where it was found necessary in the course of four years to have as many superintendents. It was really impossible to go to any quarter of the country and to be certain of securing men of heart and mind combined. The question of the training of charity workers is a large problem, and I

am sure Miss Richmond has enabled me to realize that it is a larger problem than I had before imagined. In connection with what Dr. Lindsay said, I have thought that if we could have something introduced in this work parallel to the hospital appointments which now obtain in our medical colleges, we would to some extent be meeting the want. If we could have students appointed to charitable institutions, which were recognized by the universities to be of the first order of administrative work, to there receive a practical training, I should think that would be recognized, as in the case of many medical men, as a direct step toward preferential advancement. Charity organization societies cover our country now, and perhaps at the next National Conference of Charities and Corrections propositions will be brought forward which will lead to the training of workers. I have thought it would be useful if there could be a well-digested body of information which could be transmitted through correspondence and made available to the practical students of charitable work."

Professor WILLIAM I. HULL (Swarthmore College):—

"There are two conditions which confront us in this question: first, the need for both kinds of training, the theoretical training and the practical knowledge of details. Dr. Lindsay has spoken of the most hopeful method which is being resorted to at the present time for giving these two kinds of training, namely, special courses dealing with social problems, and the opportunities extended to college students to spend their forces in study at first-hand in the work of charitable associations and college settlements.

"The second condition which confronts us, a very important one indeed, is the fact that the financial inducement held out to young men and women to engage in social service is not sufficient. If we are going to care for our poor in the best possible way, we must recognize the truth that in this line of work, above all others, perhaps, the laborer is worthy of his hire. There is not merely a need for trained workers; there is also a great need for the education of the public regarding this phase of the wages question. I do not think that college women and men *are* too valuable as philanthropic workers; no one can be too valuable for such work. Let us train the very best elements of our people in both a practical and theoretical way, and then let us hold out to them sufficient inducement to bring them into the work."

Professor JAMES:—

"I have given a good deal of attention to the question of organizing these special courses in connection with the universities. The difficulties we meet with on the side of the universities are mainly with reference to the degrees. Another difficulty is that you cannot undertake

to train people of widely different elementary education to work together. It has seemed to me that, in connection with our American universities, we might overcome some of these difficulties in the same way that the Germans have solved some of their questions. For instance, in the University of Berlin they have what is called a Seminary of Oriental Languages. This course is open not only to students, but is intended to acquaint all who are willing to take a course on the practical side of Oriental languages. The difficulty in such a scheme is, if the university students rush into such a course you cannot direct the training to meet the needs of those who have not had such a thorough elementary education. There should be found some neutral point where the university and outsider might meet. My idea is that there should be an attempt on the part of the university to solve these problems in practical life."

Miss RICHMOND:—

"I am very much indebted to the Academy for the opportunity of hearing what people think on this important question. The question of demand and supply has been brought up, but as I am not a political economist I will pass that over. I would say, however, that I have noticed whenever a trained worker goes to a community and makes a marked success, the demand for trained workers is increased and the pay is increased. As to the universities and their training, as opposed to practical training, I think there is need for both. When there are more trained workers, the managers of institutions will recognize that good intentions are not enough; that it is essential to know as well as to do. At present a large mass of valuable experience that could be turned to account in training students in such a school as I have tried to describe, is not being used. The fact that persons with such experience were not university graduates would not debar them from teaching in a training school. We are at present making almost every department of effort a means of training; why should not the practice of charity work be made a means of education outside of the universities? There are people who feel a call for this work; the class that formerly became foreign missionaries are now realizing that there is a great work to be done at home."

## II. THE THEORY OF SOCIOLOGY.

At the second session, on Tuesday morning, April 12, after the discussion on the annual address, the specific topic for the morning covered certain questions of sociological

theory. In the first place, Professor L. S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania, read a paper on "Sociology and Politics," in which he discussed the influence of sociological research upon political science. This paper will be printed in full in a future number of the *ANNALS*, and hence only an abstract of the argument will be given here. Dr. Rowe spoke first of sociology as a gleaner in the field of human relations—psychological, physical, ethical and political—and called attention to the analogy between the work which sociology is now doing in emphasizing neglected factors and in calling attention to data altogether overlooked even within the limits of some of the special social sciences. Sociology is making a more intensive study of motives with the important result that the wide discrepancy between individual and groupal action has been shown. More particularly has sociology demonstrated that the groupal relations of the individual cannot be explained on the basis of the rationalism of Rousseau or the utilitarianism of Bentham. Much of the reasoning of writers on politics is vitiated by the fact that they deal with a mannikin rather than with a real man. It is also necessary to study the political psychology of modern nations, and this work has been begun by the sociologists. Professor Rowe then analyzed the appeal to individual interest in the recent agitations for political reform, showing that it was inadequate because it presupposes too great an ability on the part of the average individual to discount the future and to weigh a great future good over against an immediate satisfaction.

In the next place it was asked if utilitarian motives do not account for political activity, how can the devotion to public welfare, of which there are many examples in modern times, be explained? Professor Rowe's answer to this question consisted of an interesting demonstration that such phenomena are due to a combination of social forces which we class as political ideals. Social instincts and sentiments,



beliefs and feelings are combined variously to create these ideals and to formulate them in such expressions as "liberty, equality, fraternity," "sovereignty of the people," etc. To illustrate the formation of such political ideals and their influence in real life, Professor Rowe compared the political conditions in America with those in France. He claimed that the differences in American and French political ideals consist in their relation to the historical antecedents of the two nations. These differences were brought out by many happy illustrations, and in conclusion Dr. Rowe referred again to the fact that much of the work now being done in theoretical sociology is destined to furnish a basis for a much deeper and truer analysis of the phenomena of which political science treats.

In discussing Dr. Rowe's paper, John Jay Chapman, Esq., of New York, spoke on the nature and essence of government, treating particularly of the social psychology of the governed in their relations to governmental activity.

Following Mr. Chapman's discussion, the present writer presented a paper on the "Unit of Investigation or Consideration in Sociology." This will also be printed in full in a subsequent number of the ANNALS, and I need only devote a few words of general outline in order to introduce the discussion which followed. I discussed the unifying results in other sciences due largely in my opinion to the possession of a common unit of consideration which served as a common starting point in theoretical discussions, a common meeting ground at nearly every stage of scientific deduction and a common goal for investigation. In this sense the cell in biology, the atom and molecule in chemistry and physics and the sensation in psychology may be regarded. In seeking for a similar unit in sociology which may, like the other units, be variously defined by different writers, I have selected what I call the "social imperative" not as a metaphysical entity, but as a concrete and given fact in society. It is the "social ought" which makes me



think and act differently in the presence of any other human being or group of human beings from the way in which I think and act when alone. This modification is the primary fact for the theory of sociology, the starting point and the goal of sociological interpretation, very much as the sensation is for psychology. In the course of my paper I also discussed the various units hitherto adopted by sociological writers, namely, the family, the social man and the social type, and endeavored to show that the "social imperative" had an advantage in that it is a variable unit and may also be objectively studied and measured as embodied in social institutions. The following is a summary of the discussion of this topic:

DR. ARTHUR FAIRBANKS (Yale University):—

"In listening to Dr. Lindsay's paper it seemed to me rather strange that the social imperative should be chosen as the unit of investigation in sociology. I think the difficulty in comprehending that phrase, however, was in our understanding of the term 'unit of investigation.' As you have noticed the different points in the paper, you have seen that other phrases have frequently been substituted for it which are entirely clear. It seems to me that the social imperative instead of being the starting point of investigation should rather be the meeting ground of investigators. I would be very glad to agree to that.

"It seems to me also that we cannot too much emphasize the close connection between psychology and sociology. The psychologist is coming to feel that the individual mind is what it is, because of the common mental life of the society in which that mind is formed and in which it lives. If I understand the work of the sociologist rightly, he is studying society as it bears on the individual mind. The two facts correspond. We may, of course, use that phrase 'social imperative' as the name for the influence which is exerted upon the individual, and interpreted in that way it seems to me we have an exceedingly valuable point for the work of sociology. Contrast that with some of the other starting points which sociology has selected in the hands of different investigators. One man begins with the study of social forces. He finds certain forces, forces which are not homogeneous, and the result is a very heterogeneous and mixed mass of material which he gathers. If he started with the thought presented this morning, the influence of society as it bears on this individual

and on that, he would have been starting with the fundamental fact of sociology and whatever errors he might have made would have been checked by the fact that he was starting with and coming back to this one central truth. Or if one begins as some sociologists have begun with a so-called organic conception of society, if one starts with a figure of speech and attempts to explain society by reference to that figure of speech, he is explaining the figure and not the fact, and, therefore, his results are not useful to any except the few who understand the starting point. One might also have begun with the study of different institutions, taking one institution at a time, and have arrived at conclusions which are extremely variable. But that study does not, perhaps, deserve the name of sociology as a science, as it does not centre around the one important fact of sociology.

"This thought of the social imperative, taken as the central point of the study, the influence of a group of minds upon each individual mind of that group, will be exceedingly profitable and exceedingly beneficial for the future of sociology. In our study of institutions it gives us that general view which enables us to fit particular facts which we gather into the general system with which it is important for us to correlate every fact which we gain. But, if we call this the unit of investigation, that immediately raises some other questions and it seems to me that the phrase is an unfortunate one. We understand what it means when an atom is spoken of as the unit of investigation in chemistry, when the cell is spoken of as the unit of investigation in biology, or sensation in psychology. For the time being it is assumed to be a given datum for the work that is being carried on. It is not to be analyzed, it is something fixed, something that all investigators accept as reasonable, and that, therefore, can be used alike by different men. It is in that sense, tangible; a unit that can be grasped and applied in investigation.

"I think it is an open question whether any such thing is possible for the science of sociology. It is a question whether the economist has really succeeded in finding such a thing; perhaps he has, but for the sociologist the study of forces is even more complex than for the economist. In physics we can take our molecule; we do not analyze it into the atom. We take it as it is. If an atom is in one molecule, it is not at the same time in another. In analyzing society, I suppose its atom might be called the individual. But this individual instead of being always in the same molecule is in a great many different molecules at once. He is connected with one group by business relations, with another by church, with another by family, and so on, until he is to be found in many different groups. The matter is a very complex one for the sociologist. If you take the individual as the unit of

investigation, you are thereby letting go of the fact that each one is to be found in different circles and different groups. Consequently, the effort to find a real unit of investigation in sociology, while it may not be impossible, is exceedingly difficult, and perhaps the problem is one that we are not yet ready to solve.

"As for the particular unit which has been suggested it seems to me that it is in the first place too general, too vague, to be useful as a unit of investigation. It is really too variable to be a successful unit. A variable unit is what we need, but if we get a unit of investigation which varies with each individual of society, we have a unit so variable that we cannot handle it. My feeling is that a most important fact has been presented in Dr. Lindsay's paper. But I should say that the group is rather the unit than the social imperative, and that to call the social imperative the unit of investigation is to apply a wrong name to it."

Professor GIDDINGS :—

"I was very greatly interested in Professor Lindsay's paper and I find myself in very hearty agreement with him in general. I thought that he was certainly on the right track, that he had taken, in his analysis, a long step toward the determination of the true unit of investigation in sociology. When he told us that the social imperative was the phenomenon to be investigated by the sociologist, I could see that there was one good reason for studying the matter in that way. The unit of investigation in political science is sovereignty; it is simply one form of the social imperative, a specific form. Political science is a specialized development of our whole scheme of social science or social philosophy. If, then, we are quite right in arguing that sovereignty is the unit of investigation in political science, it is entirely true to say that the social imperative in some form, or expressed in some way, whether we use those words or not, certainly is either the unit of investigation in sociology or it, by implication, contains that unit of investigation.

"When does a social imperative appear in its simplest possible form? It appears, and every one knows that it appears, when any one of us stands in the presence of another human being. All that is necessary to create your social imperative is that perfectly simple social situation. If I am by myself thinking my own thoughts the social imperative is not felt; but as soon as I am confronted by my fellow-man I do not think my own thoughts in quite the same way, and as I look into his eye I feel the social imperative, and he feels it when he looks at me. The social imperative arises in its simplest form when you and I are in the presence of the other fellow. The existence of that other fellow, what he is, what he does to you, the influence he has upon you, are

the phenomena of your social imperative. Then, if you get out of that phenomenon of the other fellow, what he is, what he does, as the biologist gets out of the phenomenon of the cell all that there is in it, you have obtained your whole system of social imperative. It so happens that our very word 'sociology' is derived from the simple Latin name of the other fellow:—the *socius*. I should say that just as the cell is the unit of investigation in biology; just as sensation is the unit of investigation in psychology, the social imperative is the unit of investigation in sociology."

Professor C. S. WALKER :—

"In illustrating this unit of investigation in sociology, it seems to me that Professor Giddings hardly brought out that in which consists the knowledge of the other fellow. I may study the other fellow and still have no primary conception of what sociology is, because sociology is not the other fellow, nor myself; it is the relation existing between the other fellow and me. But when we bring in a third fellow and 65,000,000 or 200,000,000 other fellows and try to get the relation existing between all those, we have a very complex problem. The paper by Dr. Lindsay was in the direct line of truth. It is very necessary that we should find out this social imperative; I think there is the *sine qua non*. What is it which constitutes society? It is not one individual; it is the relation existing between many individuals."

Professor J. J. McNULTY:—

"I should like to say a word as to the relation of sociology to its allied sciences. When it was stated that the unit of investigation was observed in the relation between myself and the other fellow, one important point, at least from the psychological standpoint, remained unnoticed and that was that the other fellow was the picture of myself. According to Ross and Baldwin the social imperative means emotion. It seems to me that the fact that man is born in society and that he takes on this power of retrospection, to see himself in this other fellow and understands the other fellow through himself, makes it clear that sociology is naturally a developed psychology."

### III. THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.

In the treatment of this topic at the third session on Tuesday afternoon, April 12, particular reference was made to existing conditions in high schools and colleges rather than universities, and the term "social sciences" was construed in its broadest sense to include economics and political

economy (economic theory and history, money and banking), sociology and statistics, political science and politics (civics, finance and taxation).

Professor John L. Stewart, of the Central Manual Training School of Philadelphia, was asked to discuss the distinctive High School Problem. He spoke in part as follows:

"Concerning the desirability of teaching political economy in secondary schools there exists great difference of opinion. There are those who believe that economics and its allied subjects have no place in the curriculum of a high school, while there are others who are equally confident that the high school is far from doing its duty by the community in neglecting such essentially important studies. Six years ago there was held at Madison, Wisconsin, a conference of prominent teachers whose object was to devise a scheme of study in history and civics suitable for schools of high school grade. The conference was emphatic in its recommendations concerning history and civics but reported against the teaching of political economy, presenting the following resolutions:

"'9 *Resolved*, That formal instruction in political economy be omitted from the school program; but that economic subjects be treated in connection with other pertinent subjects. . . .

"'30. *Resolved*, That no formal instruction in political economy be given in the secondary schools, but that, in connection particularly with United States history, civil government and commercial geography, instruction be given in those economic topics, a knowledge of which is essential to the understanding of our economic life and development.'

"The conference insisted that political economy should not be introduced as a distinct and separate science; but as illustrating government and political questions. In connection with Resolution No. 30 there was adopted the following memorandum:

"'It is suggested, for example, that when the tariff history of the United States is being studied, the laws of value, the conditions of production, and the principles of exchange, especially as relating to international trade, be explained; that in connection with the study of the development of means of transportation, such topics as the concentration of population and of industry, the organic character of society, the corporate organization of industry, the capitalistic mode of production, the process of distribution, monopolies, labor organizations, etc., be discussed; that in connection with a study of Jackson's administration, the subjects of crises, banks and their functions, the



functions of money, the laws of its circulation, bimetallism, paper money, and kindred topics be presented; that in connection with the study of our great wars, certain topics in finance be introduced, as for example the principles of war finances, the history of our debt, the process of debt conversion, and the methods of paying public debts; that in connection with the study of civil government, such topics as the assessment and collection of taxes, the principles of taxation, the kinds of taxes, the functions of government, the formation and vote of the budget, the expenses of government, etc., be studied.

"In making these recommendations the conference does not intend to suggest that less time than is customary be given to political economy, or that less emphasis be given to its importance as a study in the high schools; but rather that emphasis be laid on vital topics, and that less time be devoted to controverted subjects and unsettled questions."

"I fail to see how any teacher who treats any period of American history, going into the subject to the extent suggested in this memorandum can avoid the necessity of direct and formal teaching of political economy. The 'connection' spoken of in the resolution is so close that the conference could not avoid showing the direct value of economics in any better way than by publishing this memorandum.

"It was admitted by the members of the conference that the essential principles of economics were not above the reach of high school pupils; but that 'an attempt to master the whole subject' would result in the understanding of only a small part. Does any student in either high school or college ever master the whole of a subject? Coming from a body of men who are insisting upon the intensive study of history because it is admitted that the field is too large, such a statement is simply absurd. If there is anything made prominent in the good teaching of the day it is the acquirement of method, of a certain mental condition—a scientific attitude toward the material of knowledge. The objections to economics were multiplied by asserting the impossibility of securing trained teachers and the absence of proper text-books for high school use. The lack of good teachers is characteristic of history work, a fact which was ever present to the members of the conference; yet there is no reason to expect them to urge that history should be taught incidentally through English. Despite the feeling of the conference on this point, we have the fact that the majority of the university men who study history also take political economy, and as an increasing number of such men go into secondary schools there is no doubt that history will be better taught and that political economy will not suffer in its presentation. Every year sees an increasing number of good elementary works in economics



prepared by experienced teachers, and in that respect political economy is as well cared for as is history.

"The spirit exhibited by the conference was decidedly reactionary. The feeling exhibited toward economics is similar to the opposition shown a score of years ago to the introduction of natural science into the colleges and high schools. Science won, and to-day there is formal scientific teaching from the elementary school—under the name of 'natural study'—through the secondary school, up to the end of the college or university course. The same state of mind has manifested itself toward history. Until within the present decade history was regarded as an annex to literature and the idea that history teachers should be specialists was regarded as destructive of all that went to make sound 'culture.' In his inaugural address John Stuart Mill declared that university instruction in history was unnecessary, that the student should get his knowledge by private reading, and that a professor of history should devote his time to the work of interpretation. But we have changed all that. Every university and college has its department or course in history. High schools are endeavoring to make their work more adequate and more scientific, while our elementary schools are beginning to feel the influences which insist upon the great educational value of history taught by biographies, legends and incidents in national development. And instead of the literary and purely æsthetic view of history we all know that the revival of interest in history teaching has been characterized by a change of base—emphasis upon the economic and social changes and their influences in moulding the destiny of nations. In fact history taught without a knowledge of economics becomes characterless and invertebrate.

"In consideration of the question whether political economy and allied subjects should be placed in the high school course, it is very necessary that we should fix our attention on what the high school is supposed to be. We must realize that not more than ten per cent of the pupils of a high school go through it and go to college. What is our duty then toward those who do not expect to go beyond the high school? It seems to me that there is only one answer to that. We must come to realize that the public high school in America is a unique institution; it is there that the great majority of Americans receive all their formal education. In view of that fact it seems to me a very pressing problem to have a course of instruction in civics, politics—call it what you may—and some consideration of what we understand by economics, in every public high school. A course could be arranged that would make not too great a tax on either pupils or teachers.

"The committee of ten pointed out the fact that if instruction in political economy were given in the high school, it might be presented in such a way as to prove detrimental to independent thinking. But this is no more likely to occur with reference to instruction in political economy than in history. I think it would be well for one year in a high school course of four years to be given over entirely to instruction in politics and economics, or, at least, half a year. I know of schools where the interest of the pupils in these subjects has been so great that voluntary classes have been formed for such instruction. Such a course in such a school would, necessarily, be general; but the great point would be first of all to impress upon the minds of the pupils the idea of social growth, the idea that the society in which they live has had a history, has a definite organization, and that that organization can in a measure be studied. Society can be described; the capitalization of industry, the nature of property, the question of the relation of the state to industrial enterprises and to other forms of activity can be explained in such a way that the ordinary boy can get something out of it. There is no more necessity for a teacher of political economy in a secondary school to be dogmatic than for a teacher of history, or for a teacher of political economy in a college or university.

"The report of the committee of ten has had great weight in certain quarters, and as a whole deserves criticism. Whether or not we should have formal instruction in political economy in the high school is one of the most important questions before the American public. Certainly we cannot but realize that most of those who go through the public high school and what we call our private secondary school are getting no instruction whatever in this important science. It is not alone a matter of pedagogical necessity, but of practical expediency. Nothing can be said against political economy on the ground of the old bugbear of intellectual discipline. The great majority of the subjects taught in the ordinary high school seem to make no impression on the ordinary boy or girl. They come from the high school, as a rule drugged with mathematics and all their mental elasticity exhausted. The wail of the upper-class teacher soon is, 'What has become of the mathematical ability of these boys? It has collapsed.' The effect would be the same by a wrong use of political economy and politics along with history. No doubt mathematics would be the first thing to suffer, as in the high school Latin and Greek have been forced to give way to natural science.

"There is no pedagogical objection to putting political economy and politics into the secondary school. The conditions under which we live make it necessary for the public to see that this instruction is

given. The public is willing to pay for instruction in history and it is also willing to pay for like instruction in political science. It would be a social blunder if this were not the case. There is no reason to urge that political economy should not be required for entrance to college. It seems to me that as the number of those who go to college increases we shall be able to raise and dignify and enlarge the work in political economy in the high schools if it is a required subject for entrance to college. I feel that the interest being taken by the non-pedagogical element will put instruction in political economy to the front."

Professor Edmund J. James, of Chicago University, was the next speaker and in taking up the question of the Commercial High School spoke in part as follows:—

"In the first place I wish to say a word upon the point which Professor Stewart has brought up relating to the report of the committee of ten. I think that the report of this committee was one of the most reactionary documents that has ever been sent out. I am especially interested in this subject of the teaching of the social sciences not only in the universities, but in the high school and lower schools, and I feel that there is much just ground for criticism of this report. It seems to me a proper thing would be for the Academy and the American Economic Association to take up this question in a more earnest way than it has been taken up; both sides of the question ought to be heard. I am somewhat of a heretic on the attitude of the colleges and their feeling of leadership. As I read the educational history of the United States, it seems to me that the secondary schools hold a most important place. Our high schools have felt the need of getting themselves into harmony with the community which they represent. There have been incorporated into the curriculum of the high school the subjects which the people wanted to know and which they wanted their children to know. We find that instead of insisting upon Latin, Greek and mathematics, the high schools have been attempting in one decade after another new subjects. The college puts its stamp of approval upon certain subjects in the secondary schools and these are accepted for admission to college.

"I feel that one of the great educational problems is to force the study of civics, political economy, and this class of subjects to the very bottom of our schools. I should say that this is not only legitimate, but necessary. We shall never have an adequate education of our people unless we can extend and adapt the instruction in these subjects to our wants.

" Our present high school system, taking the country over, is defective. It consists in most places of a single institution similar to the Central High School in Philadelphia. Its course is based primarily upon a study of the humanities, language, literature, history, mathematics, elementary science. Its curriculum is intended primarily for those youth of the community who desire a general secondary education. As a matter of fact, however, its tendency and outlook is toward the college or the professions. This is proven by the fact that most of its graduates go to the college or enter one or another of the professional careers. It is also proven by the fact that the great majority of the youth who enter the manual callings, as well as those who enter business, do not think it worth their while to go to the typical high school at all.

" Now, there is a general feeling that this literary high school does not answer all the legitimate needs of the community for secondary education, and so manual training and high schools, similar to those now established in Philadelphia, the first city, by the way, to lead in this reform, are springing up throughout the country. These are not technical or professional schools, but they are educational institutions of secondary rank, intended to give a general and liberal training to those youth who, while desiring a secondary training, do not fancy the exclusively literary training of the typical high school.

" We now plead for the next step in the development of this system, the addition of a third school of secondary rank, the purely educational institution, not a technical nor a professional one, an institution which will give a liberal or general training like the other two schools, but a training which will appeal especially to that larger class of our youth who desire to enter business life and to whose tastes, as shown by the facts, the curricula of the present schools do not appeal. This class is as large as either of the others. It deserves consideration as much as they. We ought to afford these numbers also the opportunity of a secondary education which shall be a help and aid toward their future life-work. That many of them feel the need of such an opportunity is shown by the hundreds, and one may say thousands, of so-called commercial colleges which under unfavorable conditions are trying to serve this need of the community.

" Be it noted that we are not in favor of organizing out of public expenses schools like the present commercial colleges, but we are in favor of organizing schools with a purely liberal or general educational aim, but which, as an incident to other work, will serve the need indicated.

" The curriculum of such a school must be based upon a study of the social and political sciences. As every typical high school bases its

curriculum upon the humanities, as the manual training and high school bases its curriculum upon the natural sciences and mathematics, so this school must base its work on the study of politics and economics. It must, of course, include in its curriculum a modicum of the humanities, of the natural science, and of mathematics, just as the other two schools embrace in their curriculum a modicum of the social sciences. But the nucleus of this course of study will be found in the study of man in society, in the largest and most comprehensive way, exactly as the nucleus of the manual training school is to be found in the study of the sciences and their applications in the larger sense.

"These subjects offer as valuable material for a disciplinary and general training as either of the other subjects indicated. The study of commercial geography, of commercial history, of the organization and present constitution of industry, contains as valuable elements of an educational kind as are to be found in any other curriculum.

"It is almost impossible on an occasion like this to enter into details of a proposed curriculum, but aside from the modicum of language, which ought to be modern language and the languages of the pre-eminent commercial nations, and aside from the modicum of mathematics and natural science, which certainly ought to include a thorough course in chemistry, the following subjects might be mentioned as among those from which the material for such a curriculum can be selected.

"The elements of political economy on the one hand and political science and sociology on the other afford, so to speak, a theoretical basis for the entire curriculum. A study of the various forms of our government, local, state and national, a study of the commercial products to be found in the industry of the world to-day, their localization, their preparation, their relative importance, distribution, etc., a study of the banking and currency systems of the world, a study of the tariff systems of the world, the general mechanism of exchange, such as clearing houses, the subject of insurance in all its different aspects, the elements of constitutional and administrative law, the elements of commercial law, and other similar subjects, which might be mentioned, form a body of material out of which the matter suitable to secondary instruction can be easily obtained. There is no doubt that if such a commercial high school were established in any of our large cities, properly equipped and organized, its doors would be crowded with young men and women seeking the benefits of this kind of education."



The problem in the colleges was treated by Professor George C. Wilson, of Brown University. The following is an abstract of his paper:—

"In the discussion of the place of any subject in the scheme of education, there naturally arises the question of the purpose of the portion of the curriculum under consideration. In discussing the 'Teaching of the Social Sciences in Colleges,' the place of the college in the educational system should be first defined. This is a fundamental question and one still in a measure undecided. The preparatory schools have assumed the teaching of some of the subjects once included in the college course. The technical schools and universities now cover a portion of the old college course. The purpose of the preparatory school as related to the college is to fit the student for a broader education. The technical school aims to furnish courses which shall have practical utility. The university aims at the advancement of knowledge in the broad sense and at original investigation.

"Admitting that the college course, as it is called in America, is a desirable portion of our educational system, which seems to be more and more acknowledged at home and abroad, what should the aim of a college training be? The college holds a place between the preparatory school and the technical school or university. The field of the preparatory school is necessarily limited, that of the technical school or university necessarily specialized in a high degree. That the results of the specialized training of the highest technical institutions and that the result of the advanced research of the universities may become fruitful in well-being, indeed, that this work may continue to be valued, it must be supported by an intelligent public. There is left for the college the magnificent field of liberalizing education, of broadening culture and of training man to appreciate himself in his relations to the universe. That movement, naturally in England, but nevertheless unfortunately, christened 'University Extension' was in the best sense, from the American point of view, college extension. The American college idea, that of a training in broad and liberal culture, is gaining a place in the estimation of European educators and public men. This growing estimation must be exceedingly gratifying to those who have encouraged the enrichment of the college curriculum feeling that the technical school and university could thus reach the higher plane. For neither the technical school nor the university should be obliged to do the college work.

"The man who is to pass from college into active life needs a general training in the principles that are enunciated by the social



sciences, the technical specialist may need still more the broadening influence of such culture, the university specialist needs no less to apprehend man in his social relationships. Whatever may be the opinion as to the introduction of the social sciences at earlier stages in the educational system, there can be but one opinion upon the eminent appropriateness of these studies to the college curriculum.

"Admitting the propriety of social studies in the college course, the questions as to detail remain. The social sciences are distinct from each other though by no means separate. That which is obtained by the study of one contributes to an enlarged view of the data of some other of the social sciences. The ideal order of these sciences must vary somewhat with the method and aim of the training which different instructors have in mind. This arrangement will also be farther conditioned by period of time and circumstances under which the instruction is given. Ideal conditions do not exist, hence the question comes as to the best arrangement under existing conditions.

"The student entering college is confronted by new standards, generally a new environment both physical and social, and it is probably advisable not to make the transition in intellectual training a too severe mental shock. There are certain lines of social study which may be taken early with advantage. These seem to be quite generally accepted. The student has had such preparation as will make the study of the history of social, political and economic institutions natural and profitable, as well as preparatory to the social sciences. These studies may come early. The training in the so-called exact sciences prepares for accurate observation and description indispensable for the social sciences. Modern languages must be pursued as a means to the end of broader culture if for no other reason, even English seems to desire this attention. The classics furnish the atmosphere of an earlier and different civilization and contribute toward the college aim. As man is both a biological and psychological specimen as well as a sociological, the training that gives the view of man upon these sides of his nature supplements in an invaluable manner the socio-scientific training. Anthropology, ethnology, political geography, demography and kindred sciences are almost indispensable for a correct view of social relations. As many of these studies as possible should be placed in the first two years. Yet as at present governed, a college course cannot be arranged exclusively with reference to the ideal preparation for the social sciences proper. However, a good measure of historical preparation may be had in most colleges, a study of local and national institutions both political and social may be undertaken, and some measure of study of what is sometimes called descriptive sociology may be pursued to advantage

during the early half of the course. This preparation adds to the interest in, and makes more effective, the work in political economy and social science proper. The study of political and economic science may perhaps be introduced somewhat earlier than the other social sciences, not because of necessary logical precedence, but because the number and excellence of political and economic treatises makes possible the perspective necessary for the earlier stages of social study. The general study of statistics may probably accompany these studies beginning in the second or third year of the college course, though the study of the theory and science of statistics could be reserved even to the graduate work. The more specialized work needed in money, banking, etc., must come late or in the technical or university courses. The same may be said of finance, taxation and many of the problems of political administration. In general also theories and doctrines as such and social problems may be reserved till late in the course.

"Sociology in the narrow sense, because of the necessary previous preparation in biology, psychology, history, anthropology, etc., cannot be taken to best advantage before the third year of the college course. In some respects the narrower science might properly be a graduate study. The student of sociology needs some preparation in statistics and comparative institutions. He must know the bearing of the theory of evolution, and the theories of heredity upon modern science. He must have such high development of the mind and maturity of thought as to give him a sound basis for generalization. He must be able to distinguish condition and cause. Since sociology studies man from many points of view, the student must have had these view points. As the economist does not to-day disregard history, biology, psychology, so the sociological student must have a measure of training in the broadest possible field. Sociology, both from practical and pedagogical reasons, should be reserved till late in the college course. Many of the laws found to hold in sociology may have been earlier discovered as binding in other sciences. These laws may be none the less sociological laws, for priority of discovery does not here constitute exclusive right of possession. To apprehend these laws at their true value and sociological facts in their true relations requires the broadest possible preparation. Sociology in the narrow sense must, therefore, come late.

"If, then, the idea of a college training is broad humanizing culture, the social sciences, though they cannot claim to be all that is necessary for such a training, can properly claim a larger place than is given in many college curricula.

"The social sciences may look forward to an enlarged place in the

sphere of university research, may expect greater recognition in the technical school on account of their practical utility, and may be confident of growing recognition in that broad field of general culture which remains for the college."

Rev. Dr. Samuel W. Dike opened the general discussion which followed these three addresses. As secretary of the National Divorce Reform League, Dr. Dike has pleaded for years for greater attention and better instruction on social questions, in school and college. Moreover, he has been a pioneer in lecturing both before the general public and in the colleges of the country on these topics. He spoke, therefore, out of a large experience when he referred to some of the practical difficulties encountered. The following is a brief abstract of his remarks :—

"I shall speak upon this subject from a practical point of view. For about twenty years I have been interested in the family as a practical problem, beginning with the divorce question and studying the family in its connection with social science. At that time there was no instruction upon the family given in any of our colleges. The divorce question was first treated separately, then in connection with the family and the whole social question. To-day there has sprung up a great interest in the study of social questions. Many ministers write to me and ask how they shall go to work to study sociology; what books they shall read. Usually they have been reading general discussions of social subjects. The books they read treat of social questions, from the point of view of one or more of the social sciences, either separately or indiscriminately. The treatment is not distinctly sociological and therefore comparative. Though now able to call attention to the works of Giddings and others in sociology proper, the real want is not yet supplied, for they are in the higher realms of sociology. There is need for more elementary books on this subject; for a text-book that will be elementary and at the same time introductory to the science of sociology. I would like to see a small text-book that would do for the student of social science as a whole what an elementary book on political economy now does for that subject. One of the great needs is the cultivation of the social sense, for we must have a social sense before we have the social conscience. I would like a book that would set before me the different forms of society, such as the family, the village, the town or municipality, the school, the church, the corporation, etc. The students should be able to study

comparatively and analytically the principal features of the organization of these local institutions, and they should have such elementary knowledge of them as will enable them to see definitely what is needed for the improvement of local conditions. At the time of the election of mayor in New York, the people in Massachusetts were greatly interested in the problem of municipal government in that city. The religious press gave much space to this problem, and yet at no time was there a single hint of the recognition of any identity between the problems of New York City and their own local problems."

Professor GIDDINGS:—

"There is a part of this question of the teaching of sociology which has engaged my interest for some years, though until this present moment I have never ventured to speak upon it, and yet it is one concerning which that I have very often been questioned. It is this: Leaving out of consideration for the moment the utility of sociological studies; leaving out of consideration the question where they should be placed, whether in colleges, high schools, or elsewhere, we have also this question of interest to those who are especially interested in sociology: What studies are the necessary tools of the sociologist? Suppose a man desires to devote his life to the study of sociology; to the investigation of social questions, what particular studies must he master in order to have the tools to work with? In this attempt to make a place in the colleges and high schools for economic and social studies bad tactics have been adopted which I believe are a mistake, namely, the under-rating of the importance of the older studies of the college curriculum—mathematics, Latin and Greek.

"The studies which are to be followed out in the future in sociology may be divided into two groups. There will be a group of scholars interested in the development and formulation of sociological laws. I expect that all the sociological laws that we shall ever get will be formulated in terms of mathematical principles. We shall get the formulation of such laws as soon as we have collected and assorted the proper statistical material, because it will depend upon the intelligent use of statistical material.

"A great deal of very important scientific work will be done in this field in the near future, and it will be necessary to have men well trained in mathematics in order to do it. Mathematics is, therefore, an indispensable training to all advanced work to be done in the field of theoretical sociology. From a study of ethnology and anthropology we have brought together in recent years a large number of new ideas, new concepts, new terms. We have learned of the clan, of the tribe, of the federation of tribes. We have acquired the notion of kinship

in the family, and of the early forms of the family. These are important historical questions of sociology. Did the great modern European nations develop out of early forms of institutions of this kind, or did they not? These are historical questions to engage the sociologist, and they will have to be worked out in terms of the early history of the Germanic tribes, and the data for that study is to be found in old legal codes. As that data is all in Latin, it is absolutely useless to any student of sociology unless he has a reading knowledge of Latin.

"All the analyses in sociology, as the discussion of to-day and of all recent meetings of sociologists have shown, have to be made in terms of modern psychology. I say, therefore, that the three tools necessary for the man who desires to devote his life to the study of sociology, are: A good knowledge of mathematics, a reading knowledge of Latin and a good knowledge of psychology."

#### IV. GENERAL FEATURES AND RESULTS.

All of the sessions of the annual meeting were well attended, and a sufficient number of delegates from a distance were present to warrant the belief that the annual meeting furnishes opportunities to the members of the Academy which they appreciate and which cannot be supplied in any other way. The program was a full one, and still there was found some time for social intercourse and for visits on the part of strangers in the city to various places of interest. A meeting was arranged for at the Philadelphia Museums, where the Director, Dr. William P. Wilson, and the officers took considerable pains to explain the collection of products from all parts of the world and the methods by which the Information Bureau obtains and catalogues all available data on commerce and geography. Through the courtesy of the American Sugar Refining Company, an opportunity was afforded to visit the largest and best equipped sugar refinery in the country, the Spreckles Refinery on the Delaware. Visits to the Eastern Penitentiary and to other institutions of interest were privately arranged for at the request of some of the delegates.

An important meeting of the Council of the Academy



was held on Monday afternoon preceding the opening session, at which time the present work and administration and the future interests of the Academy were discussed. The delegates, members and their friends were entertained socially on the second evening of the meeting by the Provost and Mrs. Harrison, of the University of Pennsylvania.

To those specially interested in either the study or the teaching of sociology, the impressions received both from the body of material brought together and from the personal intercourse with those who had their thought focused on this one topic, were exceedingly helpful, and the results warrant us in the belief that it may be wise to pursue a similar policy and to select another general topic for the next annual meeting. In a field where there has been such great diversity of activity, and so little opportunity for personal contact between the workers, it is surprising that at this first meeting of the kind there should have been such general unanimity of opinion.

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY.

*University of Pennsylvania.*



## SOCIOLOGY AND PHILANTHROPY.

Sociology stands for pure science, while philanthropy stands for applied science. Pure science seeks to know the truth for its own sake, regardless of the gain or loss involved in abstract knowledge. The applications of science have for their avowed motive and purpose the desire to convert abstract knowledge into human profit, by way of addition to human wealth, power and happiness. Thus, in the dissecting-room the student may pick the cadaver to pieces simply for the sake of the intellectual gratification of the sense of wonder at the marvelous intricacy and simplicity of the human frame; or he may be animated by the noble resolve to make use of the power thus gained in fighting disease and death. The same distinction exists between the philanthropic and the non-philanthropic student of society. But the physician who is not thoroughly grounded in anatomy is a sciolist, and his practice can be only empirical. So the philanthropist who has taken no pains to know what may be and is known of social structure and function is no better than a social quack—certainly an ignoramus, and possibly an impostor as well. To carry this comparison one step farther, the medical expert who makes no use of his knowledge to save human life or assuage human pain, and the sociologist who is indifferent to social suffering and makes no effort to improve social conditions, are alike deficient in the sentiment of love and in the moral sense of responsibility or conscience.

These two characters, that of the sociologist and of the philanthropist, may be, and often are, united in one person. The love of pure science for its own sake is not inconsistent with the wish to find applications of scientific discoveries in inventions which will prove of benefit to mankind—take Edison as an example. Theory and practice should be

united by a bond more indissoluble than the marriage tie; divorced from each other, they lose half, or more than half, their power to bless the world.

The mutual influence of theory and practice is reciprocal and equivalent. The medical practitioner, for instance, gains a better mastery of both his science and his art at the bedside, after having passed through a course of scientific medical instruction, than he could acquire from his teachers. More than that, his teachers have developed their science from their practice and that of other physicians. If the art is founded upon the science, not the less true is it that the science is merely the collected, selected, methodically arranged observations of those who have practiced the art. The science and the art grow together, *aequo passu*.

Of the same sort is the interdependence between sociology and philanthropy. The sociologist and the philanthropist can be of the greatest possible service—indeed they are indispensable—to each other.

What can the sociologist do for the philanthropist who is not expert in social science? If he knows more, and knows it better, he can help him by making him conscious of his ignorance, which is the first step toward its removal. It is the ignorance, the unconscious ignorance, which pervades all branches of philanthropic work, which is its most discouraging and depressing characteristic. No one who has not had ample opportunity for observation would readily suspect how large a percentage of so-called "charity workers" are uncultured, illiterate, inexperienced and so impracticably "practical," that they despise the art of deduction and generalization, of classification and discrimination, as beneath their notice. Bring them into contact with really larger minds than their own, enriched by reading and by travel, trained to observe and to think, capable of suspended judgment and not prone to mistake natural instinct for ripened wisdom, and the humility which is ever a mark of true charity renders them peculiarly docile. But

they must be taken on their spiritual, rather than on their purely intellectual side, and made to feel that their teachers are in moral sympathy with their benevolent impulses. If satisfied as to this point, they become as clay in the hands of the artist; living, not dead clay, with independent, original power of aspiration and growth. Teachers of sociology will find their most appreciative audiences, their most promising and ambitious pupils, not in the class-room of the college or the university, but in the charity conference, if they will condescend to seek them there. The seed there sown will lodge in a congenial soil, fructify and multiply a hundredfold. It is there that prejudice and misconception are most easily combated. There truth is most eagerly sought—"charity rejoiceth in the truth"—while error and misstatement are corrected by the personal experience, within his limited sphere of observation, of the listener. A practical use will be made of every useful suggestion dropped by the speaker. Above all, what the charity worker most needs is training in right methods of research, of investigation and inference, which he will rapidly acquire under wise guidance. The extent and preparation of this field for sociological planting is all but unknown to the great majority of academical instructors. Its very existence has not occurred to many of them. Yet it is to the sociologist what the farmers' institute is to the agricultural chemist, the entomologist and the scientific horticulturist, or the teachers' institute to the pedagogist.

I have long since discarded for myself my early prepossession in favor of certain once popular trends of sociological thought. I no longer believe in the preponderating value of the biological method of approaching the study of sociology. The biological analogies between the life of a plant or animal and that of society do not appeal to me as once they did. Interesting and suggestive as they are, they are after all but analogies, not identities of relation or mode of action, and metaphor is not argument. They are

worth something as illustrations, and may cast a sidelight upon truth, but, if followed too fast or too far, they are more apt to prove misleading will-of-the-wisps than torches to the patient seeker after truth. Society, if it is an organism at all, is not an organism of the same kind as a plant or an animal, and it is of more importance to point out the differences than the resemblances between them. Neither am I so sure as I once was that sociology is a science, in the ordinary acceptation of that word. The human animal is a compound of physical and metaphysical characters. To me it seems that the social scientist requires to be a sound metaphysician as well as a sound physicist, and that a wide gulf separates the physical sciences from social science, which must take notice of phenomena that cannot be subjected to the physical tests of the microscope, the scales and the crucible. The union, in man, of the tangible with the intangible, the ponderable with the imponderable, seems to set apart sociology from the sciences acquired in the chemical and physical laboratory, and to make of it a mysterious, indefinable commingling of science and philosophy.

I attach, too, far less importance to speculations concerning the origins of individual and social life in a remote, inaccessible past, of which we know nothing by observation, historical records, or tradition, than do some eminent sociologists, who appear to me to make an equally futile use of analogy with the biologists, but in a different sense, exaggerating the correspondences between that which is savage and that which is primitive. The facts of human life in association are recorded in history, and the principles which govern social relations are formulated in law. History and law are the two pillars of the sociological temple, which no speculative Samson can tear down. For this reason the most valuable service which the sociologist can render to the practical philanthropist is to impress upon his mind that the more he knows of history and law in

relation to his special work, whatever that may be, the better he will be qualified to grapple successfully with the problems which confront him. If there is order in social evolution, that order must be reflected in the history of the organic changes which have marked the progress of the race from barbarism to civilization. If the organic law of social evolution is discoverable anywhere, history furnishes the clue to the labyrinth in which that law lies hidden. All social change is the ultimate expression of a protest against existing social conditions, at first by a minority and then by a majority of those who have the power to embody this protest in statutory enactments or in usages which have the force of statutes. He who reads the statutes reads history in its most concrete, concentrated form, and they never mislead him. I say, therefore, that in order to treat the question of crime intelligently, the prison official and the prison reformer need to be grounded in the history of crime and punishment; to know what has been, in different ages and communities, the popular reaction against anti-social acts, and what in turn has been the corresponding reaction against tyranny calling itself justice, by which the form and application of legal penalties have been gradually modified. The same is true of insanity, pauperism, disease and the whole list of what are commonly called "social evils." The practical philanthropist, absorbed in his work, has ordinarily neither the time nor the natural or acquired capacity for the research which is essential to a complete and orderly view of the changes which have given him his material and determined his relation to it. At this point, more than any other, he needs the aid of the sociologist, who is at the same time a historian and a jurist.

The other side of this thought is that the sociologist needs no less the aid of the philanthropist, as I shall now proceed to show. The laboratory is an essential element in the equipment of a chemist or physicist. Without it no substantial advance in science is possible. Without it,



that which science knows could not be communicated to the novice in scientific investigation, who learns not so much by hearing or reading as by individual experimentation. Now there is no sociological laboratory other than the actual life of the world, and in that laboratory the philanthropist lives and moves and has his being. The theorist in political science must associate with statesmen; in political economy, with capitalists, merchants, manufacturers and financiers; and in social science, with philanthropists, in order that he may forever test and justify his theories by the facts which are fully known only to practical men of the world. Social science is in effect the systematic study of social conditions and processes, with a view to determining what is normal and what is abnormal in them. This is also the aim of the philanthropist. The philanthropist, however, desires, in no selfish spirit, but in the interest of humanity, to enlarge the sphere of the normal and limit that of the abnormal; a matter with which abstract science does not concern itself. His outlook is therefore naturally more circumscribed than that of the pure scientist. He is more absorbed in the present and the immediate, while the scientific mind travels far afield and ranges over the infinite past and the infinite future. Nevertheless, within the range of his personal experience and vision, the philanthropist is an accurate observer, a patient collector of facts, the importance of which to science he imperfectly appreciates and for that reason irregularly and fitfully records. Yet he is the best coadjutor of the trained scientific investigator, because he is at the same time an original experimenter, and his experiments are in the region which separates the normal from the abnormal, having for their precise purpose the prevention of the conversion of the normal into the abnormal and the reconversion of the abnormal into the normal. What the theorist cannot accomplish for himself, the philanthropist is forever doing; and it is short-sighted in the highest degree for the social scientist not to take some



oversight and direction of these experiments in the laboratory of life, and so to utilize the talents and the devotion of the humble, assiduous workers in the field of practical charity.

To take one illustration among many, of the natural connection between scientific and philanthropic investigation, both are deeply concerned with the question of human degeneracy. I cannot go into that at any length here and now, and must leave untouched the inquiry wherein degeneracy consists, how it may be recognized, how it originates, how far it is to be lamented and how far it is the indispensable accompaniment and condition of progress, as interstitial death is the manifestation of vitality and a minister to life. I do not see how a knowledge of degeneracy is to be acquired otherwise than by personal contact with degenerates, nor how this contact can be effected in the library or the class-room. The philanthropist has a much fuller and more accurate conception of degeneracy than the student or professor who is a recluse among his books, and can only speak at second hand of that which the philanthropist knows at first hand. If the social scientist is not himself also a practical philanthropist, he must be absolutely dependent upon philanthropy for a large part of the information which he builds into the framework of his science.

Another illustration of the same intimate connection is afforded by a consideration of the relations between political economy and charitable relief. Charity is a fine thing, no doubt; but justice is a finer. Justice is fundamental, charity supplemental. Charity steps in to relieve the situation where justice has partially failed. How to avoid the necessity for charity by securing a larger equality of opportunity and greater equity in the distribution of earnings, is both an economic and a philanthropic problem. The philanthropist sees the wrong which it is the business of the economist and statesman to rectify. A solution will be reached, if at

all, not by either singly, but by the joint effort of both, working in harmonious co-operation.

Philanthropy is not sociology, any more than engineering is pure mathematics. Instruction in applied mathematics is nevertheless given in schools which are not technological, nor even exclusively scientific. In a school of engineering much of the instruction must be imparted by teachers who are also practical mechanics. The beginning which has been made in directing the attention of American college students to social conditions and training them in habits of accurate thinking on social questions is to be commended. The American university prepares young men and women for life not merely as scholars, but as citizens. Citizenship implies responsibility for social conditions, with capacity to characterize them rightly and to remedy them if necessary. Sociology, therefore, if we could only tell precisely what it is, should have a place in the curriculum of the university as an aid to such preparation. But a better comprehension of the relations between sociology and philanthropy would enable us to define with greater precision the necessary limitations of the subject, at the same time that it would give us a broader notion of its boundless outlook. The aim of sociological teaching is to give the student a conception in outline of the organic life of the human race. I am afraid that some of those who are supposed to fill the chair of sociology in our institutions of learning have themselves no clear or adequate conception of this organic life, but are painfully striving after it, in the hope of "keeping ahead of the boys." If philanthropy is not sociology, neither is history, nor law, nor political philosophy, nor political economy. The sociological conception modifies our conception of every subject related to the associated life of mankind—of history, of law, of politics and of philanthropy. We cannot teach sociology apart from these and kindred subjects; neither can we teach these subjects so well, unless we teach them sociologically, just as the scientific habit

of thought and the scientific method are essential, no matter to what branch of physical science we may apply ourselves. But sociology is a philosophy as well as a science; it may even be said to have a more or less ethical character.

I plead, therefore, here as everywhere wherever chance gives me opportunity, for a more intimate association and fellowship between professional sociologists and professional philanthropists. I deplore the sociological teaching which is fragmentary, disjointed, a mere mosaic of quotations from the reports of actual observers of human life in its various aspects, arranged without regard to proportion or perspective, and which produces the effect upon the mind of a Chinese painting resembling nothing in heaven or earth. I deplore the speculative, unspiritual, atheistic motive of much of this crude sociological drawing. None the less, but rather more, do I deplore the unscientific spirit and method of a very large part of what passes in the world under the pseudonym of philanthropy—benevolence misdirected and misapplied, wasted energy at best, but at worst positively harmful and dangerous. The corrective for each is found in the union of the two, of the scientific acid with the philanthropic alkali, thus producing a neutral salt of positive value to the social *materia medica*. I would infuse into our sociologists a little more philanthropy, and a little more social science into our philanthropists, but not enough into either to destroy their special functions and utility. Did space allow, I should be glad to go on and show in how many ways the closer alliance for which I plead would benefit and bless the world.

FREDERICK HOWARD WINES.

*Springfield, Ill.*

## THE RELATION OF THE COLONIAL FEE-SYSTEM TO POLITICAL LIBERTY.

The development of the constitution of the United States has been traced with considerable accuracy by writers on constitutional and political history, but the evolution of the ideas of political liberty in the minds and consciousness of the people, which manifested itself through these constitutional forms, as well as through revolutionary methods, has received less attention than it deserves. Historians have explained how the constitution has grown to be what it is, but they have not explained why it has so grown. How the people imbibed those ideas of political liberty, for the preservation of which they were willing and able to stand together in the Revolution, is a question which can not be answered by explaining how they gained skill in parliamentary practice.

The unexplained problem is, how shall we account for the difference between the political ideas and ideals of the colonists which they brought from Europe, and the notions of political liberty which were entertained by the signers of the Declaration of Independence? The first colonists were thoroughly imbued with all the seventeenth century notions of royal prerogatives and royal powers, and never dreamed of denying the right of the governor to establish courts, appoint officials, prescribe fees of office and at times even to levy taxes, while the signers seemed to have grasped the idea of popular sovereignty in its widest sense.

The transition from the one to the other is not explained by the general statement that the colonists found themselves in a new environment and naturally developed political ideas suited to it. It is not explained by simply pointing to the fact that many of the colonists had come to the New World in order to enjoy liberty of conscience. It is not explained

by enlarging upon the political genius everywhere manifested by the Anglo-Saxon race, and by theories based on the assumption that American political liberty owes its existence to the Anglo-Saxon spirit of these early settlers. Nor is the problem solved by the more plausible, but inadequate explanation, that political liberty was evolved through the numerous struggles for control over taxation, and through the indirect consequences of this control when once acquired. It is often contended that the colonial assemblies, by refusing to vote a salary to any official appointed by the governors, unless the appointment met their approval, gradually absorbed not only the control over the appointive power, but many other valuable privileges as well. That political privileges were obtained in this way is an important fact, and should receive due consideration. But as a historic fact it represents simply the trend of public opinion, and the drift of the political ideas of the times, and like a log in a river it shows the direction of the current.

Historians have, as a rule, over-emphasized the importance of colonial taxation and the struggles over its control, doubtless because of the prominence which this subject had in the legislative contests with the governors and the frequent references made thereto in the laws and documents of the period. In reality taxation as a means of raising revenue was an extraordinary resource, and was employed only when money was needed for some special purpose, as for fortifications, for maintaining troops, legislative bodies, and, at times, indeed, to pay the salaries of some of the executive officers. The bulk of the current expenses was, however, raised by means of fees of office, collected by each official for his services. Nearly every colonial official, from the governor down to the fence-viewer or pound-master, was supported more or less by these fees and perquisites of office. Accounts were rarely kept, and the appointees of the governor usually considered themselves responsible to no one, least of all to the colonial assembly, for the emoluments



of their respective positions. The result has been, therefore, that this important branch of colonial revenues, together with its manifold influences on colonial institutions, has received little or no attention from students of political history.

The contention that political liberty was developed through disputes over taxation is of some importance, but it is not a sufficient explanation of the problem at hand. The same objection can be urged against the following explanation offered by Mr. Lodge, in speaking of the attitude of the early Virginia legislatures to their governors:\*

"This nagging resistance to the governor, simply because he was a governor, and therefore made to quarrel with, now begins. It was this snarling and often unreasonable and factious, but ever persistent and watchful opposition which slowly trained the people, accustomed them to parliamentary and constitutional principles, and gradually raised their political thought to the level of 1776."

The liberty loving spirit of the American colonists was not born in the colonial legislative halls, nor were their ideas of political liberty fostered by useless quibbles over trifling and unimportant questions. The struggles which mark each epoch in the development of this spirit were participated in not only by the burgesses, but by the people themselves, on the distant frontiers, as well as in the densely populated centres. How else can we explain the fact that the more distant and scattered agricultural population formed in one sense the backbone of the revolution? These struggles were not precipitated, because the colonists had a governor with whom they chose to quarrel, with or without sufficient cause, but they were the result of years of oppression and maladministration on the part of these very governors and their subordinates. This oppression was due to the fact that the fees of office had been arbitrarily increased in amount and multiplied, until they became, in one sense, more burdensome than direct taxes.

\* "History of the English Colonies in America." p. 26.



It is a notorious fact that the colonial governors were not all models of puritan simplicity and honesty. Many of them did not scruple to avail themselves of their positions to exact as much money as possible from the colonies under their control. The further fact is also well known that insolvents and spendthrifts were frequently given commissions as governors in the American provinces in order to enable them to retrieve their wasted fortunes, or to escape from their creditors.\* Under the proprietary governments the governors were continually tormented by the proprietors to find lucrative places for the latter's friends and relatives. In the charter colonies we find the same state of affairs. The governors themselves often acted in the capacity of judges,† and appointed their own friends and relatives, or worthless favorites of the crown to the subordinate positions. These officials regarded their positions, not as public trusts, but as legitimate sources of revenue, to be used for personal gain.

That this idea was prevalent is shown by the fact that many of the colonial offices were farmed out to unscrupulous deputies who usually succeeded in obtaining large incomes for themselves, in addition to the sums paid to the nominal officers.‡ In this way positions, which normally would have yielded but a few hundred pounds, were made to produce many times that amount. Thus the office of governor of Virginia is reported to have yielded \$80,000 to the nominal governor residing in England, and \$20,000 to the acting governor in the colony.§ The governor of New York is said to have collected \$65,000 a year in land patent

\* See Hildreth's "History of the United States." Vol. ii, pp. 216-20.

† The governor of Virginia was also lieutenant-governor, treasurer, chancellor, chief judge of all courts, president of the council, bishop and ordinary. Bancroft's "History of the United States." Vol. iii, p. 22.—See also "Civil List of New York," 1887, p. 73.

‡ The extortionate fees collected by the deputy to whom Secretary Randolph of Massachusetts had farmed the post of secretary was one of the grievances of the people against Governor Andros' administration.—See Doyle's "English Colonies in America." Vol. iv, p. 247.

§ Hildreth, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 235.

fees, besides which the secretary, collector and other officers also received liberal fees for their services.\*

When it is remembered that the regular salaries granted the governors by the colonial assemblies rarely exceeded \$10,000, it is evident that the control exercised by means of the power to regulate taxes was slight compared with the influence which these officials exercised through their power to levy fees. This oftentimes arbitrary power can scarcely be understood by one who is accustomed to the supremacy of law of the nineteenth century. The governors and their subordinates interfered with and levied toll upon nearly every colonial institution; they collected fees for licenses of various kinds, for permits and for privileges of all kinds which the colonists desired. Titles to land were tampered with, in order to increase the income from land patents.† The courts were frequently, and in some colonies constantly, made instruments of extortion,‡ and the right of appeal was rendered worthless, because the same judges often sat in the higher courts, as well as in the lower.§ Matters were even carried to such extremes that new courts|| were created for the special purpose of extracting more fees, from the pockets of the people. The formation of new counties and boroughs was forbidden unless fees were paid to the governor for the privilege.¶ It was through a long series of protests and petty revolutions against such exactions that the people gradually became conscious of their political rights. These disputes were not confined to the legislative bodies, but were of such a

\* *Ibid.*

† Governor Clarke amassed a fortune of \$100,000 in seven years in New York, and Governor Clinton made \$80,000 in a short time. Roberts' "History of New York," p. 296.

‡ "For the sake of acquiring fees he [Governor Sothel of North Carolina] disputed the best of titles, and vexed the fairest traders." Hugh Williamson's, "History of North Carolina." Vol. ii, p. 140.

§ See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 204.

| Court of Chancery established by Governor Effingham of Virginia. Hildreth, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 173.

¶ See Lodge's "History of the English Colonies in America," p. 144.

character that the people themselves as individuals were vitally interested. They began to inquire by what authority these so-called fees were collected, and there gradually dawned upon their consciousness the idea that all men are born free and equal, and that the governors should derive their authority from the consent of the governed. It thus appears that the doctrine that taxation without representation is tyranny, was not a new idea which the people had suddenly discovered in 1776, but it had in its essence been discussed and asserted for nearly a century. The conclusion of each dispute left the people more conscious of their political rights, and led to stronger demands for their recognition.

None of the colonies was entirely free from struggles of the kind; all were taught their lesson in political liberty in essentially the same school. The citizens of Massachusetts were repeatedly opposed to their governors on questions of fees of office and official prerogatives. As early as 1634, Governor Winthrop\* was forced by a political revolution to give up his position as magistrate to Governor Dudley, and was compelled to make a statement of his accounts. The fees collected by Governor Andros created such violent opposition that he too was finally displaced.† His successors do not appear to have been less exacting in their demands, for the protests of the colonists became more and more frequent and emphatic. In 1729 the general court, after a protracted quarrel with the governor over the fees of office which he might collect, finally sent a representative to England to lay their grievances before the king.‡ In the State of New Jersey a revolution was begun against Governor Carteret on the very same issue.§

The same spectacle was witnessed again and again in Virginia. The objections to the fees exacted by Governor

\* Hildreth, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 199.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 111. See also Doyle, Vol. iv, p. 247.

‡ Hildreth, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 346.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

Berkeley\* resulted in a number of complaints, which were laid before the Royal Commission in 1677. The privy council finally advised the governor to abandon a few fees, especially those claimed for the granting of attorneys' licenses.† This advice did not help matters much, for Governor Effingham,‡ like his predecessors in office, continued to charge excessive fees for probating wills, for land grants and other services. In Maryland the movement is even more marked and shows how completely the people had begun to grasp the idea of popular sovereignty. In a contest over the right of the legislature to regulate the port duty, which up to that time had been collected by the governor, nominally for the support of fortifications, the legislature finally passed a resolution to the effect that:

"It was not their intention to deprive the governor of an honorable support, but only to assert and maintain for themselves, their constituents and posterity that principal and most essential branch of liberty, to which they conceive themselves entitled as subjects of Great Britain, of not being liable to the payment of money, tax impost or duty except such as shall be warranted, raised and assessed by the laws of the province."§

A similar conflict arose in 1754 over the so-called duty on ordinary licenses, which the lower house claimed as public revenue.|| The contest grew fiercer when the governor, in 1770, attempted to regulate the fees for licenses and other privileges, by proclamation.¶ It was contended on the part of the people that these fees were in the nature of taxes, and that any attempt to establish them by proclamation was in reality an assumption of the power to levy taxes without the authority of the assembly. Thus the contest went on year after year, without any material gains on the

\* *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 555. For an account of the struggle over the "pistolet" fee for land-patents see Dinwiddie "Papers," Vol. i, pp. 44-47, p. 363 in "Virginia Historical Papers."

† *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 173.

‡ *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 563.

§ McMahon's "History of Maryland," pp. 179-80.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 298.

¶ Hildreth, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 568.

side of the people, but they were learning a lesson which many nations have yet to learn, in that their convictions as to their rights and liberties were day by day becoming more firmly fixed.

This is especially apparent if we compare the feebleness and hesitancy of the people in the earlier struggles with the firmness and determination manifested later on. As an example the failure of Bacon's rebellion in Virginia may be directly ascribed to the lack of political self-consciousness and self-assertiveness among the people at large.\* The vacillation manifested in this struggle is quite different from their decisive action in resistance to Governor Dunmore after the passage of the port-bill. In the Carolinas the struggles were even more fierce. The well-known Culpepper insurrection† against Miller was caused by grievances of the same character as those already enumerated, and in 1688 Governor Sothel was driven from the helm for the same reasons.‡ When the legislature of North Carolina attempted to investigate the exorbitant fees collected by Governor Burrington its complaint was rejected as an unconstitutional assumption of authority on the part of the assembly.§ The struggle was continued, however, and even resulted in acts of violence. Many riotous outbreaks were caused more directly by the high land-patent fees collected by Lord Granville's agent.|| The people in the back counties especially had suffered very greatly from extortionate fees exacted by all the petty officers of the court and land offices. The opposition to the collection of these fees developed in 1766 into associations known as "Regulators," whose purpose was to protect the interests of the

\* There were no doubt other reasons which should be taken into consideration, but back of these reasons lies the fact that the people lacked that community of principles and interests which alone can make a revolution successful.

† Hildreth, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 40; also J. W. Moore, "History of North Carolina," p. 23.

‡ Hildreth, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 41.

§ *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 339; also Lodge, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

|| *Ibid.*, pp. 145-46.



people, and oppose the illegal demands of the fee-collectors. The rapid spread of this movement made the associations quite successful at first in resisting the demands of the governor and his agents. The uprising was finally quelled with the aid of troops, after an engagement had been fought at Alamance, in which the Regulators were defeated.

The experience of the other colonies is but a repetition of the foregoing. Frequent outcries were raised, not only against the fees collected by the governors, but against the fees of sheriffs, judges and other inferior officers. In New York, after a long series of contests on just such questions,\* the legislature finally succeeded in gaining partial control over both the appointments of the governors and the fees of office which should be allowed. The liberty-loving settlers of Vermont† rose in open rebellion against the right claimed by Governor Wentworth to charge excessive land-patent fees, and the "Green Mountain Boys," afterward so famous in the revolution, showed thus early that they had convictions concerning their rights and were willing, if necessary, to fight for them.

Through these unsuccessful revolts the people were being led, unconsciously almost, to discuss and formulate their own privileges as opposed to the prerogatives of governors and the crown. In this way the colonists gradually evolved the principles which were afterward laid down in the Declaration of Independence. Furthermore, the disputes tended to keep alive the spirit of liberty better than all the parliamentary struggles between the governors and the legislatures. The colonists were ever on the alert to prevent infringement upon their rights, and were ready to seize upon and overthrow old established prerogatives whenever an opportunity offered itself. It is for this reason that we see the colonial governors, in spite of their aggressiveness,

\* "Civil List of New York," 1887, p. 73. Among the fees collected by Governor Crosby was £150 for a trip to Albany and £750 for services in London.

† Lodge, *op. cit.*, p. 164. Ellis H. Roberts' "History of New York," pp. 265-67.

constantly losing ground to these self-assertive frontiersmen.

The final struggle, which resulted in the achievement of American independence, was but a repetition, in a more vigorous form, of the protests which had been lodged again and again against the imposition of illegal and extortionate taxes under the guise of fees. This fact becomes very plain when the circumstances leading up to the passage of the Stamp Acts are explained. It is perhaps well known that no taxes of any importance had been levied on the colonies by parliament up to 1765.\* The intercolonial duties on enumerated articles produced little more than sufficient revenue to pay the expenses of the custom houses, and had for their purpose not revenue, but regulation of trade.† The trifling surplus paid into the British treasuries was a mere incident of that regulation.‡ Yet the colonial custom houses, though hitherto maintained with no intention of collecting taxes, might easily be adapted to that purpose; and as the colonies were already accustomed to the payment of parliamentary duties, they might not readily distinguish between duties for regulation and duties for revenue. The first part of the scheme, submitted by Lord Granville, appears to have proceeded on this idea.§ The second part of the act of 1765 is fully as significant as the first, and was based on the fact that Englishmen in the home country had repeatedly submitted to laws increasing the various license fees, until as license taxes they became an important source of British revenue. Knowing, as the ministry did,

\* Hildreth, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 518.

† *Ibid.*, p. 213.

‡ Dowell, "History of Taxation in England," Vol. ii, p. 147.

§ "Is not the Post Office, which they have long received, a tax as well as a regulation?" was asked Benjamin Franklin in evidence before the committee on the Stamp Act in 1765. He replied: "No, the money paid for the postage of a letter is not in the nature of a tax. It is merely a *quantum meruit* for a service done. No person is compellable to pay money if he does not choose to receive the service. A man may still, as before the act, send his letter by a servant or special messenger or friend if he thinks it cheaper or safer."—Dowell *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 147.

that similar license fees had long been collected by the governors and legislatures of the colonies, they naturally concluded that the same scheme might be applied in the New World, which had been so successfully carried out in the Old. They therefore added a clause to the Stamp Act, providing for the imposition of license taxes on the sale of spirituous liquors and wines. But the colonists had been burdened too long by taxes levied under similar pretexts by their own governors, and were not slow to see through the flimsy pretences of the ministry. Their previous training had taught them the uselessness of verbal and written protests, and caused them to take immediate and decisive action as soon as the passage of the Stamp Act was announced. To this previous training may largely be ascribed the fact that the whole country stood together from the very start, and that the Western pioneers and frontiersmen were among the first to stand up for the principles over which the revolution was fought. It is thus clear that the colonial fee-system, including its abuses, sustains an important relation to the dissemination and growth of those ideas of freedom and political liberty on which Americans justly pride themselves.

The contention is not here made that the relation is of a causal character, much less that the fee-system is the only cause. The racial characteristics of the settlers, the succession of events which constitutes their history and many other elements must be taken into consideration for a complete solution of the problem. All that is claimed is, that the colonial fee-system furnished a bone of contention about which circled the disputes and struggles which fostered and developed the spirit of liberty and the self-consciousness of the American pioneers.

THOMAS K. URDAHL.

*Berlin.*

## OSCILLATIONS IN POLITICS.

Calhoun's "Disquisition on Government" is in many ways a remarkable document. Written as a party pamphlet, its theme is the necessity of maintaining the balance of power between the North and the South, and the creation for that purpose of a system of dual control of the nation. But this was so obviously impracticable that the treatise may almost be regarded as a confession of failure on the part of the greatest champion of the slave power. Incidentally, however, the "Disquisition" reveals a political insight that enabled the author to foresee more than one of the problems of the present day. His argument in favor of the separate representation of interests, or what he called government by a concurrent majority, as distinguished from the rule of a mere numerical majority resulting from an amorphous universal suffrage, anticipated a discussion now carried on with great activity in Europe; for the recent plans for the apportionment of members of the legislature among bodies of voters grouped together according to their occupations\* is based upon precisely the principle that Calhoun advocated. Both involve the organic recognition of the different interests in the community.

To students of contemporary American politics, on the other hand, the following passage is extremely suggestive:

"Each party must be alternately forced, in order to insure victory, to resort to measures to concentrate the control over its movements in fewer and fewer hands, as the struggle became more and more violent. This, in process of time, must lead to party organization, and party caucuses and discipline; and these, to the conversion of the honors and emoluments of the government into means of rewarding partisan services, in order to secure the fidelity and increase the zeal of the members of the party. The effect of the whole combined, even in the earlier stages of the process, when they exert the least pernicious influence, would be to place the control of the two parties in the hands of their respective majorities;

\*Cf. Charles Benoist, "*La crise de l'état moderne*."

and the government itself, virtually, under the control of the majority of the dominant party, for the time, instead of the majority of the whole community; where the theory of this form of government vests it. Thus, in the very first stage of the process, the government becomes the government of a minority instead of a majority; a minority, usually, and under the most favorable circumstances, of not much more than one-fourth of the whole community.

"But the process, as regards the concentration of power, would not stop at this stage. The government would gradually pass from the hands of the majority of the party into those of its leaders; as the struggle became more intense, and the honors and emoluments of the government the all-absorbing objects. At this stage, principles and policy would lose all influence in the elections; and cunning, falsehood, deception, slander, fraud, and gross appeals to the appetites of the lowest and most worthless portions of the community, would take the place of sound reason and wise debate. After these have thoroughly debased and corrupted the community, and all the arts and devices of party have been exhausted, the government would vibrate between the two factions (for such will parties have become) at each successive election. Neither would be able to retain power beyond some fixed term; for those seeking office and patronage would become too numerous to be rewarded by the offices and patronage at the disposal of the government; and these being the sole objects of pursuit, the disappointed would, at the next succeeding election, throw their weight into the opposite scale, in the hope of better success at the next turn of the wheel."

So far as this prophecy relates to an increase in the power of the party machine, to a growth of the influence of a ring, and finally to the evolution of a Boss, it has been signally fulfilled; and it may be of interest to inquire how far the prediction of party oscillations has been verified also.

The tendency of late years to a change of party at each presidential election is a matter of common observation and has been likened to the swing of a pendulum. It is worth while, therefore, to examine whether this has been a mere accident, or whether it is likely to prove a permanent phenomenon produced by some deep-seated cause. The results of any particular election can, no doubt, be explained by a



reference to the circumstances under which it took place, to the nature of the issues presented, to the reputation of the candidates and to the state of prosperity or depression of industry at the moment; and yet if the phenomenon is repeated with great regularity for a considerable length of time we should be justified in concluding that it is due to some enduring cause, and that the form in which the issues are presented is itself a result of that cause. This does not mean that any such tendency to oscillation is paramount. At the most it is only one of many influences in politics, and like other tendencies it will produce its normal effects only so far as it is not counteracted by other forces. Oscillations that might occur with regularity in ordinary times will, of course, be entirely interrupted whenever some overmastering issue arises, like that which culminated here in the Civil War. Hence we ought not to expect to find them at times when the nation is grappling with an unusually momentous question. They are important enough to merit observation if they are found to have a sensible influence on current politics in tranquil periods.

The first great party contest in the United States, that between the Federalists and the Republicans, followed the course that political philosophers have generally thought natural. The Federalist party, which represented the positive side of the issue, had for its true mission the creation and setting in motion of a strong national government. When this task was done its mission was fulfilled, and falling from power it faded entirely away. It was not pushed aside by a new issue which divided men on new lines. It simply died of inanition, and for a short time there were no true party divisions at all. This period of American history is known as the era of good feeling, and it covered the two administrations of Monroe. With the election of John Quincy Adams parties reappeared, and soon became exceeding vigorous; but although some of the new party principles were similar to the old ones, and it has been the

common habit to attribute a continuity to the political struggles throughout the history of the nation, a profound change took place in the very nature of party—a change that separates the Whigs and Democrats sharply from the Federalists and Republicans of the preceding generation. This change was due to the growth of the democratic spirit, and the extension of the suffrage to which it gave rise. Its effect was quickly seen in the party machinery, which became more democratic and more highly organized. The direction of a few authoritative leaders gave way before the desire of the mass of voters for a share of influence, and state and national conventions supplanted the older method of nominating the president and the governors by means of the congressional and legislative caucus. In 1832 presidential candidates were nominated for the first time by national conventions. By 1840, the new system had become firmly rooted; and it is between these two dates that the tendency to political oscillation begins.

The first diagram on the first page of charts at the end of this paper shows the result of national elections from 1836 to the present day; the solid lines indicating the electoral vote for president, the dotted lines the proportion of congressmen chosen by each party. The popular vote is not inserted, because it merely complicates the chart, and has no real value for our purpose. In many of the Southern states, for example, the popular vote has not given since the war a true picture of the relative size of the two parties; and, in fact, the total popular vote is a very imperfect test of party strength whenever representatives are chosen in separate districts. In the close constituencies the effort to bring out the vote is more strenuous, and the proportion of citizens who go to the polls is greater than in places where the result is a foregone conclusion; and thus the total vote may be quite different from what it would be if the whole country were a single constituency. The object of each party is the election of the largest possible number of

electors or congressmen, and if the districts are not greatly or unfairly changed, the variations in the number of districts carried by a party is the best test of its gain or loss of strength.

In this diagram the percentage of Democrats is represented by the perpendicular distance from the year line of the chart to the point marked, while the distance from that point to the opposite line shows the percentage of Whigs or Republicans. Where one or more other parties elected candidates two points are marked and the space between them represents the percentage of persons chosen who do not belong to either of the two leading parties. In 1892, for example, the Republicans carried 32.66 per cent of the electoral vote, the Democrats 62.39 per cent and the Populists 4.95 per cent.

The rise or fall of the lines between the marked points represents, of course, the gain or loss of the two great parties, and an examination of the chart for the first sixteen years shows the presidential line passing alternately above and below the centre at each successive election. This continued until after 1852, when the predominance of the question of slavery destroyed the balance of parties. In 1856 the Whigs had ceased to exist, while the new Republican party had not developed strength enough to carry the country, and thus the Democrats elected their president for two terms in succession. Four years later the Republican victory was followed by the Civil War and the period of reconstruction, during which a large section of the country either did not vote at all, or did so under strained and abnormal conditions. Under such conditions a change of party could hardly have been expected, and anything like a regular change every four years was, of course, out of the question. Nevertheless it may be observed that after 1860 the presidential line alternately rose and fell at each successive election, although it did not come near the central line until 1876. After that time a regular political oscillation

again set in, and has continued to the present day. Such an oscillation has, therefore, been a constant phenomenon in presidential elections ever since political parties became firmly established with their modern organization, except during the twenty-four years when the civil war and the conditions that immediately preceded and followed it produced an abnormal state of affairs.

If now, we look at the congressional line we find that at the election next following the choice of a president there has almost invariably been a reaction against the party in power; and that in normal times this has usually, though by no means always, lost a part of its force two years later. A close observation shows that when the president and the majority in congress have belonged to the same political party the reaction has usually been sharper than when they have belonged to different parties; and that when it has been strong enough to throw the majority in congress into opposition to the president a counter reaction has always set in at the next congressional election. These facts are significant, for they seem to point to the conclusion that the oscillations in politics are due to discontent with the party in power. We shall return to that question later.

The elections to the English parliament exhibit a similar tendency, although it is much more recent. There have, indeed, been oscillations in English politics ever since the death of Queen Anne, but the periods covered by the rule of one party or the other have been so great as to place them in quite a different category from the rapid vibrations we are considering. After the death of Anne the country was ruled by the Whigs for more than a generation. Then, after a time of uncertainty, the Tories got the upper hand, and with a few short intermissions retained power from the accession of Lord North in 1770 until the reform bill of 1832. The turn of the Liberals came once more, and they remained the dominant party for a generation and a half. The only serious break in their ascendancy was at the time

of the administration of Sir Robert Peel in 1841; for although the quarrels among the Liberals three times enabled Lord Derby to form a conservative ministry, no one of these had the support of a party majority in parliament. Lord Derby came into office because the Liberal majority was temporarily disintegrated; and on each occasion the Conservatives, after holding office a short time, dissolved the house of commons and appealed to the people, only to find themselves confronted with a Liberal majority sufficiently reunited to come back to power. In 1868, however, a change began in English political life. The reform bill of 1832 had disfranchised rotten boroughs and recognized the political importance of the new industrial towns. It had also equalized and extended the franchise, but it by no means created a democratic electorate. The reform bill of 1868, on the other hand, placed the franchise in the boroughs on a really wide basis, almost doubling at a stroke the total number of voters in England and Wales. This change has been followed by a series of rapid oscillations, a tendency that seems to have become even more accentuated since the act of 1885 made a corresponding extension of the suffrage in the counties, and added over a million and a half more names to the voting lists.

The second diagram on the first page of the charts marks the party fluctuations in the house of commons since 1832. The heavy line shows the division between the supporters of the government and the opposition, the lighter lines the fractions of which each party is composed; the distance above the heavy line representing the percentage of Liberals, the distance below it the percentage of Conservatives. To make the situation clear the different administrations are also indicated. The regular oscillations may be observed beginning at the time of the reform bill of 1868. The first election after the passage of that measure gave a large majority to the Liberals; at the next the scale turned in favor of the Conservatives; and at the third the Liberals



were again victorious. The fourth election, in 1885, resulted in a tie, the forces that had supported Gladstone's cabinet, and those which had hitherto opposed it, being almost exactly equal. The Liberals carried, in fact, 331 seats out of 660, a margin so narrow as to make a stable administration impossible; but by winning the support of the Irish Home Rulers, who had been in opposition during the last parliament, Mr. Gladstone succeeded in obtaining a majority in the house of commons.\* The election of 1886, which followed the defeat of his home rule bill, gave the control of parliament to the Conservatives and Liberal-Unionists, who have acted together ever since. But the majority again passed to the Liberals in 1892, and returned to the Conservatives in 1895. Thus it has happened that since the extension of the suffrage in 1868 a change of party has taken place at every election except that of 1885, in which from the point of view of political oscillations the parties were evenly balanced.

The length of time during which these phenomena have occurred in national elections in England and the United States is too short, and the total number of oscillations that have taken place is too small, to form a basis for a satisfactory induction; and yet it is not easy to get any light from the experience of other countries. Regular alternations in power of opposing parties are obviously out of the question where the parties are never in power at all—that is, where the ministers are appointed by an hereditary monarch, and are not politically responsible to the representatives of the people. This is the case in the German Empire and in all the states of which it is composed.† It is also substantially true of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. Nor is there any

\*The Liberal cabinet had been defeated on the budget in June, 1885, and resigned. The Conservative ministry that followed it never had a majority in the commons, and resigned on a defeat on the address at the assembling of the new parliament.

†Hamburg, Bremen and Lubeck are republics, but their senates and magistrates are not elected by the people, or responsible in the parliamentary sense to the elective representative bodies.

use in looking for political oscillations in countries like Spain and Servia, where the government has such an influence over the voters that it always procures the election of a majority of its own supporters. Where this happens a general election is not a genuine test of public opinion, and the parliament does not really represent the electorate. Popular government exists in form, but only in form. The nations where rulers always carry the elections stand at one end of the scale of democratic evolution, while at the other end, where popular government has reached its highest development, it would seem that a general election tends always to go against the party in power.

There remain the European nations where the executive is under the control of true representative bodies, but where popular government is of recent origin. In most of them instead of two great parties we find a number of small groups, the government being always in the hands of an ephemeral coalition of some sort. Under these circumstances alternation in power is impossible, for there can be an alternation only when there are two opposing parties which are sharply separated from one another, and between which the voters are obliged to choose. For this reason oscillations such as we are considering could hardly take place in France or in Italy, and we may add, in Austria or in Portugal. In France there have, indeed, been a number of changes of party within the century, and they have occurred with a good deal of regularity. Every new form of government has been the work of a new party and each form of government has been so closely associated in the public mind with the party which created it that there has never been a change of party without a revolution.\* But these violent upheavals which have occurred once in fifteen or twenty years are less nearly akin to rapid political

\* The replacing of a Reactionary by a Republican cabinet after the elections of 1877 is not really an exception, because this was a case of frustrating an attempt of the Reactionaries to obtain control of the state, rather than of turning out a party that had once been firmly established in power.

oscillations than to the changes of party that formerly took place in England at long intervals.

Three or four of the European nations require a special explanation. In Hungary no administration has ever been upset by a hostile vote in parliament, or by a reverse at the polls. In fact since constitutional government became operative in 1867 there has been only a single change of party and that took the form of a combination between the opposition and a section of the majority. The condition is due to the prominence of the question of race which overshadows all other issues, for on this the Magyars, who are the ruling people, are nearly solidly united. The presence of that question holds them together and prevents normal party divisions and fluctuations.

In Holland there have long been three parties, the Catholics, the Conservative Protestants (or anti-Revolutionaries) and the Liberals; and within the last few years the Liberals have broken into two hostile groups. The existence of more than two parties, the fact that the cause of division between them has been chiefly a religious question, on which men are peculiarly slow to change their minds, and the narrow franchise, which extended before 1887 to only one person in thirty of the population, are surely enough to account for the lack of party fluctuations. The Liberals, indeed, had an almost constant majority in the popular chamber from the revision of the constitution until the extension of the suffrage in 1887. The number of voters was then raised from 135,000 to 350,000, and since that time there have been three changes of ministry so complete that each side of the chamber has been twice in power and twice in opposition—an approach certainly to a regular party oscillation.

Belgium, which has copied the English form of government more closely than any other country in Europe, has until recently had only two parties, the Catholics and the Liberals; and these have been alternately in power, the

Liberals having had three, and the Catholics four, administrations since 1846. But there has been nothing like a change of party at every election. In fact, the Liberals once held office for nearly thirteen years without a break, and the Catholics have now been in power continuously since 1884. The absence of rapid fluctuations is not, however, hard to explain. It is no doubt due partly to the religious questions on which the parties have been divided, and partly to the extremely restricted suffrage that prevailed before 1894, the total number of voters being only 135,000, or only about one-thirtieth of the total population.

In Switzerland, the only country in Europe that has a popular government and has not adopted the parliamentary system, the conditions are unique. The strength of the different parties has, of late years, been extraordinarily constant and their fluctuations have been remarkably slow. This results from causes that can only be suggested here.\* One of them is the fact that the executive body of the nation, the Federal Council, is not composed of the members of a single party. Another is the smallness of the state, and especially the minute size of the electoral districts, for it is true of bodies politic, as of sheets of water, that a certain magnitude is necessary to allow the formation of a perceptible tide. A third cause is the referendum, which neutralizes to some extent the importance of party. In fact, the rejection of laws by popular vote seems to take the place of a change of party. It acts as a sort of safety valve for discontent and for that resentment against the public authorities which is the chief motive for turning out the party in power. It appears, moreover, to be intermittent; although the length of time the referendum has been in use in the confederation is too short to justify a positive conclusion on this point. The following diagram gives a chronological arrangement of the measures passed by the national legis-

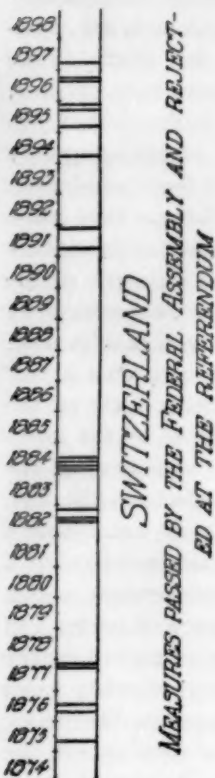
\* For a more extended discussion of this subject, see the writer's "Governments and Parties in Continental Europe," cap. xiii.

lature and rejected at the polls. It will be seen that there have been three great periods of rejection—in 1875-77, 1882-84 and 1894-97—and that after each of these periods either the legislators have learned prudence or the popular

resentment has exhausted itself by explosion, and a quiet time has ensued. It may be added that there are more than two Swiss parties, and that the party lines are not very sharply drawn.

Finally Greece has had for the last fifteen years a change of party at each election, but this isolated example may well be the result of peculiar conditions. In short, we do not find in Continental Europe, and for one reason or another one should hardly expect to find, any considerable amount of evidence to establish or disprove the tendency to rapid political oscillations in a modern democracy.

The British colonies might be supposed to offer a more promising field, but unfortunately this is not the case. It has already been pointed out that alternations in power can occur only when the community is divided into two distinct and antagonistic parties. If there are a number of groups so that the overthrow of an administration means only a fresh coalition containing many of the former elements, or



if party lines are not clearly drawn so that a general election does not result in a definite victory for a compact party which remains in control until the next general election, the alternation in power of two rival parties is manifestly out of the question. Now that is the condition of the Australasian



colonies. Parliamentary government there has not produced its normal effect of a sharp division of the legislature and the electorate into two great parties. On the contrary its results have been similar to those of France and Italy. The ministers have yielded to the pressure of individual representatives, who have in their turn catered to the wishes of their constituents; and thus politics have turned largely on the satisfaction of personal and local interests. This has, of course, blurred party lines, and brought about a state of constant instability in the cabinets, without real alternations of power between the parties.

The experience of Canada has been very different. Here there have been, as a rule, two parties, both in the dominion parliament and in the assemblies of the provinces; and the tenure of office by these parties has proved remarkably stable. In the provincial assemblies the members have, indeed, been in the habit of calling themselves by various political names, but their position as supporters or opponents of the ministry of the province is usually well defined. Moreover, the parties in local legislatures are, with a couple of exceptions, the same as those in the dominion parliament; and yet the Canadian parties present an extremely perplexing problem. In spite of the fact that the contests in both national and provincial elections are in the main between Conservatives and Liberals, the result in one appears to have had no connection with the result in the other, or rather a success in one seems, if anything, to have accompanied the opposite result in the other. In Ontario, for example, the majority of the assembly has been Liberal for thirty years, but in five out of the eight elections to the dominion parliament that have taken place during that time, and in four out of the last five of them, Ontario has elected more Conservatives than Liberals. In Nova Scotia the same thing is true to a still greater extent. Since 1882 her assembly has been very heavily Liberal, and yet two-thirds of her representatives at Ottawa were Conservatives until

the election of 1896 when they were evenly divided. The strange condition has, indeed, gone so far that at one moment the dominion parliament was Conservative while, with the single exception of Prince Edward Island, every provincial assembly where national party lines were drawn was controlled by the Liberals. This may be seen in the diagram which shows the fluctuations that have occurred since the formation of the confederation in the relative strength of the Conservatives and Liberals in the various legislative bodies (the distance from the year line representing the Liberal strength, that to the opposite line the Conservative). It is not easy to explain such a curious state of things. No doubt the astute and not over scrupulous manipulation of Sir John Macdonald, whose two administrations covered together a space of nineteen years, had a good deal to do with it; but this alone is hardly enough to account for the result. The writer has heard other explanations given; such as the fact that the strongest men belonging to the party in power in the dominion are drawn away from the provinces, and hence the preponderance of political ability at home rests with their opponents, who are thus enabled to control the local elections. Another suggestion is that the men who have no chance at Ottawa devote their attention to the provincial governments and by controlling the local patronage are enabled to keep themselves in office. An objection to these two suppositions arises, however, from the absence of any similar tendency in the United States. A third explanation is found in the skillful gerrymandering of the federal electoral districts. None of these suggestions is entirely satisfactory; but whatever the cause may be, it is clear that the condition of Canadian politics has effectually precluded any regular alternation in power of the opposing parties, both in the dominion parliament and in the provincial legislatures.\*

\* The only other British colony large enough to have a political oscillation is Cape Colony, and so far as this has well defined parties at all, they are based on

A survey of modern popular governments shows that the conditions under which rapid political oscillations can be expected to occur—a wide franchise coupled with a division into two sharply defined parties—scarcely exist except in Great Britain and North America; and that where in other countries those conditions are partially realized there is, on the whole, a tendency more or less pronounced toward an alternation in power. We are, therefore, justified in asserting that, if outside of England and America there is little evidence to support a theory of political oscillation, there is at least no evidence to contradict it; for Canada, the only country in which the essential conditions are present, has been clearly in an abnormal state.

Finding that no light on the subject could be obtained save in England and the United States, and feeling that the parliamentary, congressional and presidential elections do not afford sufficient ground for a general induction, the writer was led to examine the results in the several states of the Union. If a tendency to political oscillation really exists, its effects ought to be traceable in the state elections. But here there are two tendencies or forces at work instead of one; for the state election is affected by the currents of both national and state politics. The vote for governor is influenced not only by approval or dislike of the course pursued in the state by the party in power there, but also, and often to a much greater extent, by the popularity or distrust of the national administration, and by the desire to help some national policy, such as protection or tariff reform, the maintenance of the gold standard or the free coinage of silver. In short, the vote in state elections is the resultant of two political tendencies, one local and the other national, and these may be working in the same direction, so that their joint effect is greater than either of them would have the lack of harmony between the Dutch and the English citizens, a matter on which oscillations could hardly take place.

The South American republics are, of course, out of the question for the purpose of this inquiry.

produced alone, or they may be working in opposite directions, and thus neutralize one another. Now, the problem before us is to isolate the state tendency, to try to discover what effect it would have if it were acting by itself. Assuming that the national tendency is indicated by the national elections, the problem is to eliminate the result of that force, and leave only the separate effect of the state tendency. In the case of physical forces this operation is simple, because, owing to the law of the conservation of energy, the combined effect of several forces acting upon a body is determined by the parallelogram of forces. Two forces, each of which acting alone would carry a body ten feet north, will together carry it twenty feet north; and hence it is easy to combine vibrations, or given one of two vibrations and the total result, to ascertain the other vibration. But we cannot assume that the same principle applies to human conduct. We do not know that emotional energy is constant, much less what the direction of emotion means. We are not warranted in supposing that two motives, each of which alone would increase the Republican vote by 10 per cent, would together increase it by 20 per cent; or that if one motive acting by itself would increase the vote 10 per cent, and another would diminish it by the same amount, the two acting at the same time would exactly neutralize one another. And yet, although the joint effect of several motives cannot be computed with accuracy like the resultant curve of waves in water, the same principle may be applied for the purpose of approximation. It is not unreasonable to assume that, in the vast majority of cases, two tendencies, each of which, by itself, would increase the Republican vote, will together increase it more than either of them would alone; and similarly that a tendency, which by itself would decrease the Republican vote, will counteract to some extent another tendency which by itself would increase that vote. Without claiming, therefore, that the result obtained is strictly accurate, the principle of the

composition of vibrations may be applied to the tendencies at work in elections for the purpose of obtaining an approximate result.

As the strength with which the national tendency operates in the states is not a fixed quantity, but varies from place to place, it cannot be eliminated by a simple calculation. Its strength can be determined, and at the same time the nature of the state tendency can be found, only by experiment. Relying on the regular oscillation in the presidential elections from 1868 to 1885, when the Republican party was continuously in power, the writer tried first to combine the national and state tendencies on the theory of an oscillation in state politics alternately in favor of one party and then of the other at each successive election. But this yielded nothing that agreed with the actual returns. An attempt was then made to combine them on the theory that there is always a tendency to react against the party in power in the state, and the results thus obtained were decidedly encouraging.

The process was as follows: Taking the congressional elections, on account of their frequency, as the best test of the national tendency, the percentage of Republicans and Democrats at each of these elections were plotted on a chart, and the points thus found connected by a curve, or rather a continuous broken line. The rise or fall of the line between any two points thus represents the gain or loss of the party in the nation from one election to the other; and this combined in the right proportion with the tendency to react against the party in power in the state ought, upon the theory assumed, to give the gain or loss of the party in the state between two state elections occurring at the same time as the two national elections. If the national and state elections do not occur in the same year, if, for example, the state elections take place in 1889 and 1891, while the national elections fall on the even years, it is necessary to estimate the condition of the national parties in 1891, and this was done by taking a mean between



the results of 1890 and those of 1892. Thus if the strength of the Democrats, as shown by the proportion of representatives elected, fell in these two years from 70 per cent to 60 per cent, it was estimated that in 1891 it had fallen one-half of that amount and stood at 65 per cent. Such an assumption is, perhaps, sufficiently accurate for the approximate result which we are seeking.

The actual numerical effect of the national tendency on the vote at state elections cannot be computed *a priori*. It is evident in the first place that the percentage of the members of the national house of representatives elected by a party does not indicate its exact proportional strength in the country; for if one party polls 60 per cent of the popular vote it will probably elect far more than 60 per cent of the representatives. Or, as we are considering not the actual strength of the parties, but the fluctuations in their strength—not quantities, but increments—we may put the statement in this form. If one party increases its percentage of the popular vote by 10 per cent, the increase of its representatives will be far more than 10 per cent. This is, of course, due to the fact that in every election many districts are close, and a comparatively small increase of votes for one party will change the result in a disproportionately large number of districts. The percentage of increase of a party in congress is, therefore, an exaggeration of the real national tendency. To get the true tendency, we must take some fraction of that increase. Moreover, as I have already said, the strength of the national tendency varies in the different states, and the fraction of the congressional change that must be taken for any state can be determined only by experiment. When found, that fraction, or modulus, is, however, tolerably constant for any particular state. In New York, for example, and in several other states, the modulus was found to be one-fifth, so that, if during any period the Republicans made a gain of 10 per cent in the house of representatives, this national party fluctuation has

the effect of adding 2 per cent to the Republican vote in New York.

The strength of the tendency to react against the party in power in the state also varies from state to state, and can be found only by experiment. This I call the state modulus, to distinguish it from the national modulus for the state. Where it is distinctly recognizable it is usually 1 or 2 per cent, though in some places it is much larger.

In applying this theory the writer has taken the elections for governor as the best criterion of the relative strength of the parties in state politics. In testing its soundness he has taken the popular vote at each gubernatorial election, calculated by means of the national modulus for the state the gain or loss to be expected at the next election from the trend of national politics, and by means of the state modulus the gain or loss to be expected from a reaction against the party in power in the state, and then compared the result thus computed with the actual result of the next election. It is evident that if the theory is correct the two results ought to be approximately in accord; and they do agree year after year in a number of states. The process not only gives the fact of gain or loss correctly in a very large proportion of the elections, but often indicates its amount also with no little accuracy.

In many of the states the theory has no application, and could not, indeed, be expected to apply. They fall into two categories. First the very small states, like Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Delaware and some of the new states in the West, which are not large enough to develop a true political tide; and secondly, states where one party has such an overwhelming preponderance that a change of party is utterly out of the question. This last is the case throughout the greater part of the solid South, and in a few of the extreme northern states; and during the Civil War and the period of reconstruction it was true also of many other states in the North. Under such conditions any serious tendency

to react against the party in power in the state is excluded by the nature of the case, and the gain or loss of votes is largely a matter of accident. The leading party may, of course, break in two, as the Populists have in places broken away from the Democrats in the South, but up to the present time this has been quite a different phenomenon from the one we are considering. In view of these conditions we should naturally look for oscillations chiefly in the tier of great middle and northern states, and it is here, in fact, that we find the most marked verifications of the theory.

In the remaining diagrams at the end of this paper the heavy black lines indicate the actual percentage of the party votes for governor, the dotted lines the votes to be expected on the basis of the computation already described—the Democrats being represented by the distance to the left side, and the Republicans by that to the opposite side; while the name of the state, the national modulus and the state modulus are given below. The period represented begins in 1870, for although, in some of the states, such as New York, New Jersey and Indiana, the actual and computed results are in accord from the time of the foundation of the Republican party, in many others the tendency to oscillation did not make its appearance until later. For the reasons already given the diagrams do not include the states which are very small, or have been so very recently; nor the states that have belonged continuously to one political party, such as Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and Minnesota\* in the North, and the states in the South which have not elected a Republican governor since the era of reconstruction. All the other states are included, although in several of them the computed oscillation is not very close to the real one.

An examination of the diagrams shows a number of general facts. It may be observed, for example, that, as a

\* In New Hampshire a Democratic governor has not been elected since 1874. In the other three states every governor has been Republican since the outbreak of the civil war. New Hampshire and Vermont might also have been omitted on the ground of size.

rule, the oscillations are greater in degree when the term for which the governor is chosen is short, and the elections are frequent. This is no doubt because the reaction against the party in power is rapid both in the state and in the nation, and if the next election does not take place for some time a counter-reaction has time to set in. It may be observed also that the actual and the computed oscillations agree, on the whole, better in the states where the parties are nearly evenly balanced than in those where one party has a very decided preponderance. Moreover, they agree better where the governors are elected in the congressional years than when they are chosen in the off years, because there is no accurate means of finding the exact national tendency in the off years. We can only guess at it by assuming that it is midway between the results of the congressional elections which precede and follow it. Finally, it will be seen that in 1896 the actual and computed results are far apart in nearly one half of the states. This is due to the sectional nature of the issue on which the election turned. During the rest of the period covered by these diagrams there was a general national tide setting in favor of one party or the other, and affecting in the same way, to a greater or less extent almost all the states under consideration. But in 1896 there were two tides setting in opposite directions in different parts of the country. Instead of a general tendency in favor of one party, the purely agricultural states moved toward Bryan and free silver, while the sections where commerce and manufactures were important moved toward McKinley and the gold standard; and thus the Republicans gained heavily in many states in spite of their general loss of strength as shown by the result of the congressional elections. This exception is of the kind that helps to prove the rule, for it shows that a mere careful adjustment of the proportions of state and national tendencies will not suffice to give any desired result. It shows that when the theory does not apply at all, the

divergence between the actual and computed results is liable to be very great.

Let us examine the diagrams for the several states.

*Massachusetts.* Here, except for 1896, the actual and computed results agree, on the whole, fairly well in the congressional years. From 1878 to 1894, the computed line is a little inclined to run lower than it ought, but it is certainly noteworthy that on the only three occasions since the war when Democratic governors have been elected the computed or dotted line falls rapidly below or near the centre. Moreover, in the first two cases the dotted line immediately returns above the centre, and in fact a Democrat was elected only once, whereas in 1890-93 when a Democrat was elected for three successive years the dotted line remains well below the centre during that whole period. In the odd years, on the other hand, the actual and computed lines are by no means always in accord. This is partly for the reason already explained, that we do not really know the national tendency in those years, and partly because such a tendency has less effect in the off years and thus allows other motives a greater proportionate influence. In 1877 and 1879, for example, there was a strong reaction against the party in power in the state which was partly checked the next year.

*Connecticut.* The only divergence of any consequence between the actual and the computed lines, save that of 1896, is found in 1892, when the proportion of the parties remained unchanged, whereas, according to the computation, a heavy Democratic gain might have been expected. From 1884 to 1890 inclusive, the Democratic candidate for governor received a plurality of the vote, but as the legislature has power to choose the governor in case none of the candidates receives a majority of the popular vote, and, as the legislature was Republican, it elected a governor of its own party. During these years, therefore, the Republicans were the party in power in the state.

*New York.* Here the only divergence, except that of



1896, is the rise in the computed line in 1888. But from 1885 to 1888, the legislature was continuously Republican, and this tended to counteract any reaction against the Democratic governor. If such a reaction were omitted the two lines would agree at this point.

*New Jersey.* The actual and computed lines never vary in direction and very little in amount. It may be noted that where there is a third candidate the important line is that of the dominant party; here the Democratic, not the Republican line.

*Pennsylvania.* Here also the two lines never vary in direction, and after 1875 they vary little in amount.

*Ohio.* As the state elections come in the odd years, the computation ought not to be expected to agree very closely with the actual results, and yet the only serious departure is in 1879-81. This is, however, so great that the dotted line is started afresh in 1881.

*Indiana.* The computed line is almost parallel with that of the Republican party.

*Illinois.* Here, again, the computed line is almost parallel with that of the Republican party, except for 1892-96 where the direction of the change is correct, but the amount is not.

*Michigan.* The computed line is exceedingly accurate, except that it minimizes the gain of the Republicans in 1872 and exaggerates their loss in 1892.

*Wisconsin.* The computed line fails entirely to indicate the sudden drop of the Republican vote at the election of 1873. From 1875 to 1888 the continuous existence of a large third party makes the chart of party fluctuations somewhat meaningless, a state of things that is true of all the states west of Lake Michigan.\* During this time the dotted line runs with little variation between the two chief parties. From 1888 to 1894 the computed result is decidedly accurate.

\* For this reason, as well as on account of the short period during which it has had a large population, Nebraska is not included in these charts.

*Iowa.* In spite of the fact that the state elections take place in the off years the two lines agree well enough, except during the time when the Greenbackers came in as a third party to disturb the current of politics.

*Kansas.* Here the elections take place in the congressional years, and except during the existence of the Greenback party, the two lines agree very well. The only very marked divergences are the exaggerations of the changes in 1874 and 1894.

*California.* The results of computation here are certainly surprisingly correct when we consider that a large third party has been almost constantly present. It is interesting to note the great influence of state as compared with national politics. In none of the other states in the charts is the state modulus nearly so large as in California.

We now come to the border states which have at one time or another broken away from the Solid South, and among them is included Missouri, for although she has not elected a Republican governor since 1870, her Republican party has always been strong enough to poll a very large minority of the votes.

*Maryland.* The fluctuations here are very slight, but the computed line follows the actual one well enough after 1879.

*West Virginia.* Here the two lines agree quite closely, except in 1884, and at that time the defeated candidate was not a Republican but a Fusionist. The proportion of votes cast in the state in the same year for the presidential electors of the two parties is indicated almost exactly by the point found by computation. It may be added that the result given for 1880 is merely approximate. The exact figures were not published in the "Tribune Almanac," nor is there any record of them in the office of the secretary of state of West Virginia.

*Kentucky.* The two lines in this state agree well enough after 1879, save that the Republican gain in 1895 is exaggerated.

*Tennessee.* The result here is on the whole fairly correct, the most marked defect being the failure to show the Democratic loss in 1884.

*Missouri.* Here finally the computed line follows that of the Democratic, or dominant, party with great accuracy until the anomalous election of 1896.

In these diagrams of the state elections the computation would seem to be in accord with the facts too large a part of the time for a mere fortuitous coincidence. Taking the results in connection with the changes of party at the elections for president, for congress and for parliament, we are surely justified in thinking that a tendency to oscillation probably enters as a factor into political fluctuations in England and the United States; that this factor is permanent, in the sense that its effects are distinctly perceptible when other more powerful influences do not intervene; and that it is based on a reaction against the party in power, whatever that may happen to be.

In seeking for the causes of such a tendency one must first note that the oscillations could not take place at all if either of the parties persistently advocated a policy that remained unpopular. But in fact, the great parties in really democratic nations no longer stand for abstract principles without regard to their popularity. They urge only programs for which there is at least a reasonable prospect of securing immediate support; and if a policy is permanently unpopular it is abandoned. While preserving enough distinctive character to justify their existence they try to come as near to the centre of gravity of public opinion as they can. This has its good as well as its bad side. The bad is self-evident and perhaps outweighs the good. It is the substitution of success for principle as the aim and end of public life; while the good side is found in the fact that political leaders have learned to strive to effectuate so much of their principles as is attainable, instead of clinging obstinately to ideals which cannot possibly be realized. In short, parties in England

and America have become instruments of government, rather than collections of men holding similar opinions.

Subject to this essential condition the tendency to oscillation may be ascribed to a variety of causes, each of which contributes something toward the result. The most obvious is that every elected body represents its constituents very imperfectly. Representative government has neither proved a panacea for all social ills, nor has it worked to the entire satisfaction of the voters; and schemes of all sorts, such as direct popular legislation, proportional representation, and the grouping of electors by occupations instead of districts, are persistently urged as remedies. Whether any of them would mend the matter may be doubtful, but the amount of support they receive is strong evidence of the defects of the representative system. Now what is true of the whole elected body is true also of the parties within it. The majority in congress or in parliament does not reflect exactly the opinions of the party that elected it, and the more highly the parties are organized the more obvious this becomes. Moreover, it is absolutely impossible for an American president, or even for an English cabinet, to represent all the varying shades of opinion in the party, and hence there are always a number of people who feel that the men they supported do not really express their views, and who are ready at the next election to vote for the other party or to stay away from the polls altogether.

Closely connected with this cause is another. When a party has come into power, much of its action is directed by a fraction, at the best a majority, of its members, and this gives rise to discontented elements within its ranks. In a perfect democracy, indeed, the government would, of necessity, be, as Calhoun pointed out, mainly in the hands of a majority of a majority, which usually means a minority of the whole people; and, if the democracy is not perfect, but is twisted out of shape by elaborate party organizations, the ruling minority is likely to be smaller still. All this was

not so important in the last century, when the policy of the party was dictated by a few leaders who were more obediently followed by their supporters than is the case to-day. In America, moreover, discontent within the party is increased by the spoils system, for, to quote again from Calhoun, the applicants for places are "too numerous to be rewarded by the offices and patronage at the disposal of the government;" and some of the disappointed "at the next succeeding election, throw their weight into the opposite scale, in hopes of better success at the next turn of the wheel."

Something must also be attributed to the theory suggested by Sir Henry Maine to account for the frequent rejection by the Swiss of laws passed by their representatives. He pointed out that a man may very well approve of a policy when set forth in general terms, and yet find when it is actually embodied in a statute that it contains many things repugnant to him. A man may, for example, vote for a candidate with the sole object of procuring the enactment of a protective tariff, or a tariff for revenue only, and yet when the act is passed he may find that it injures his business in ways that he did not anticipate. In Switzerland, in such a case, he votes against the law at the referendum. In England or in America he often becomes disgusted and stays at home or votes for the opposing candidate at the next election, and thus he deserts his party for doing the very thing he helped it to do.

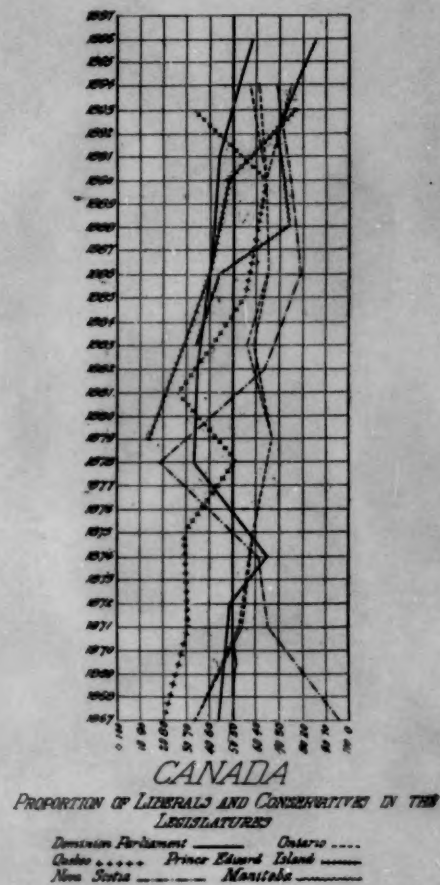
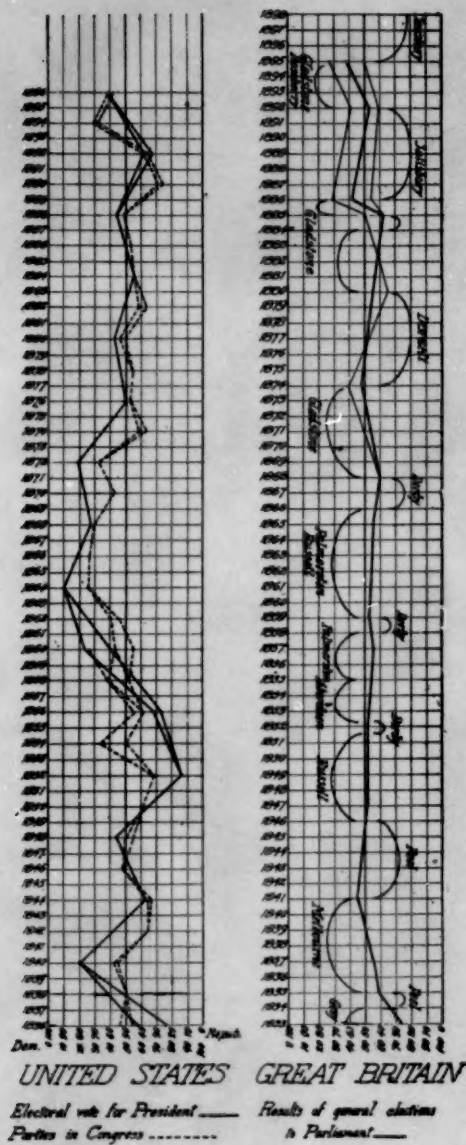
Another potent cause of political oscillation results from the drift toward paternal government. The great increase in the functions of the state, and the widespread faith in the possibility of regenerating the world by legislation, coupled with the exigencies of political warfare, have led the people to expect, and the parties to promise, more than any government can perform. The hopes that cannot be fulfilled lead naturally to disappointment, and the public, which always clamors for a scapegoat, throws the blame upon the party in

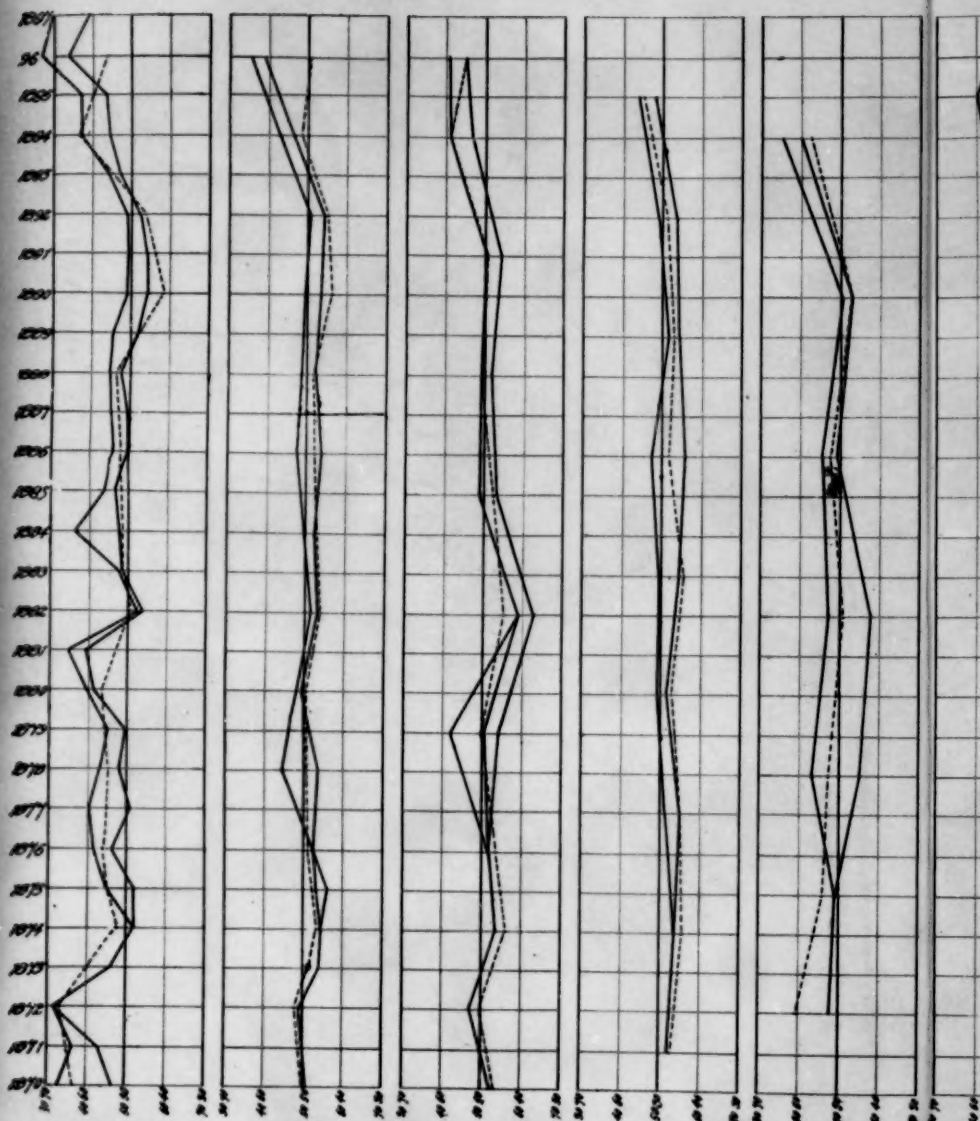


power, and turns to its rival, only to move round again in the same old circle.

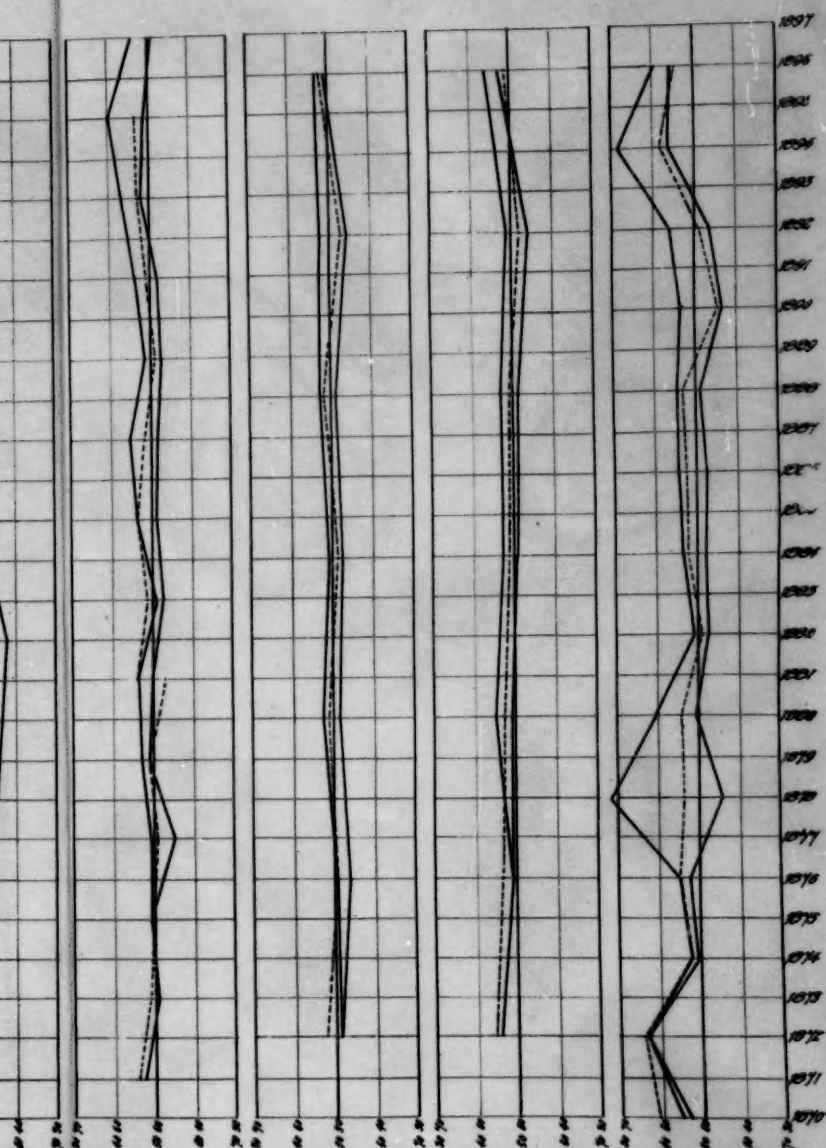
Finally a tendency to reaction in politics has probably always existed; but the press and the telegraph have made it far more rapid than it was formerly, while the fact that both parties keep within easy reach of public opinion makes a change possible at any time. And here a difference may be observed between the regularity of vibration in England and in this country. Our national elections coming at fixed intervals, which are well adjusted to the present rapidity of change of public sentiment, the oscillations are periodic and regular. But the general elections in England occur only when parliament is dissolved, either on the expiration of its term, or because the government loses its majority. The tenure of office of a party depends, therefore, very much upon the size of its initial majority in the house of commons, and hence the periods of oscillations are of varying length.

It is by no means certain that the democracies of the future will be divided into two parties. Whether they are or not will depend upon many conditions, and among others, upon the form of their political institutions. In Great Britain and America, at least, these conditions are such that the existence of two great parties is altogether probable, and if so, their frequent alternation in power may be expected to continue in times of ordinary tranquillity—a prospect that throws light upon the method of conducting public affairs in the two countries, and suggests the wisdom of some changes of practice. The spoils system, which has evils enough under any circumstances, becomes an organized absurdity if the parties are destined to change at every presidential election. It gives the public officials barely time to learn their duties before they are replaced by new men, and this is especially injurious in the more responsible positions which require great experience. The English habit, therefore, of retaining permanent undersecretaries, or heads of departments, who are thoroughly familiar with every detail

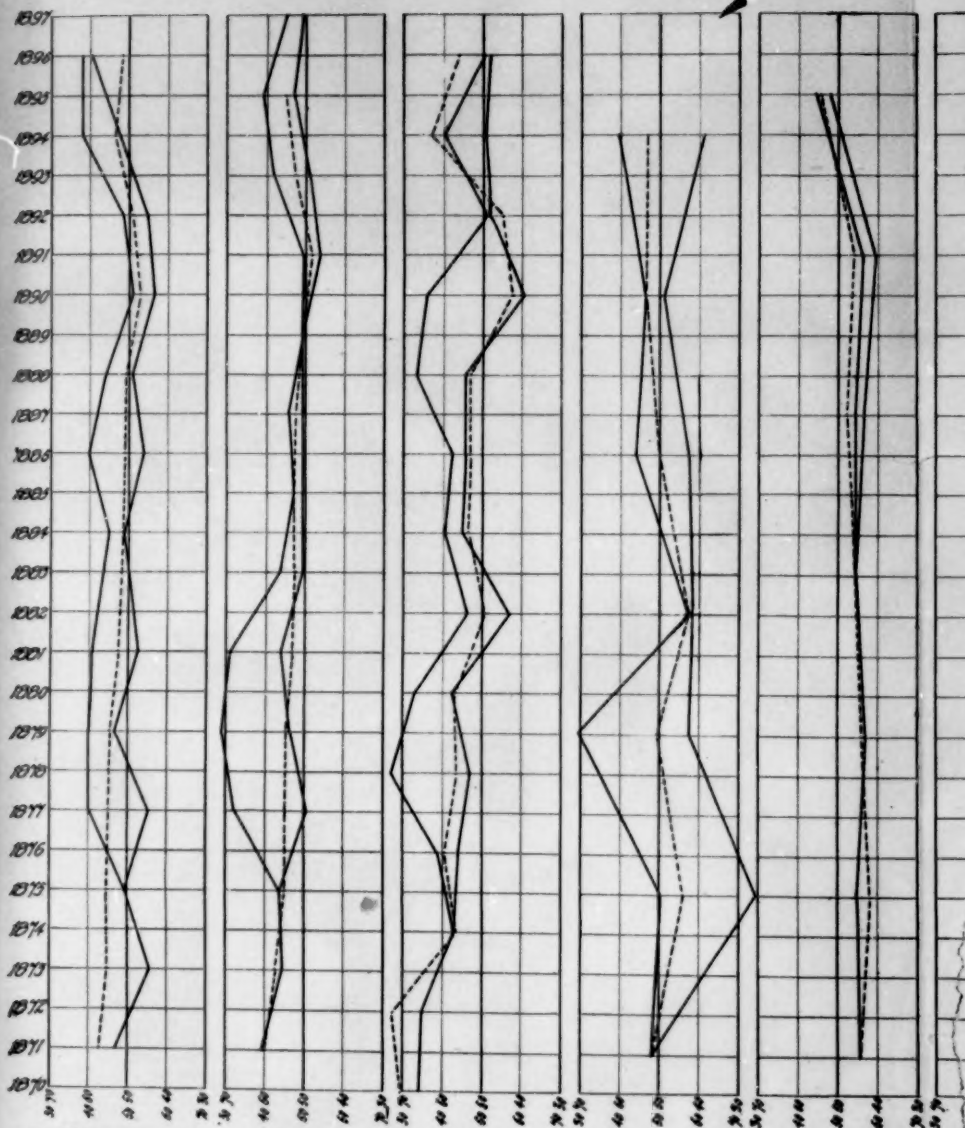




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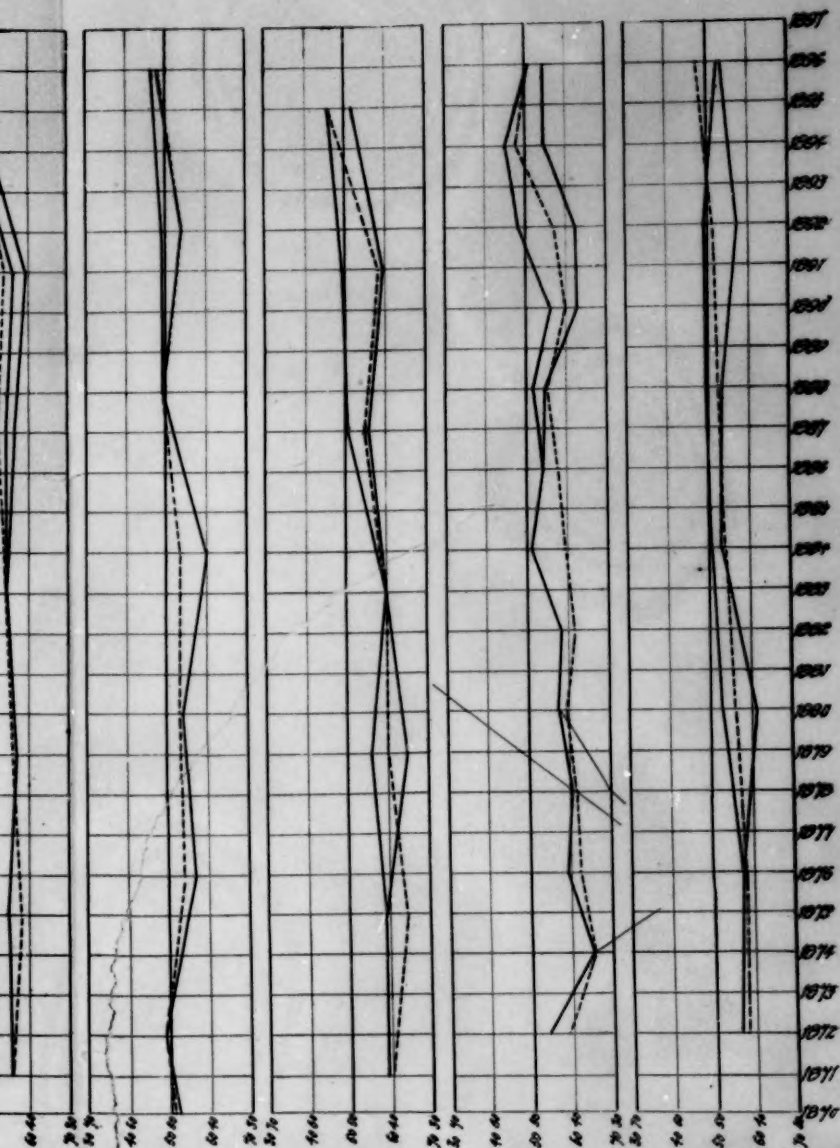
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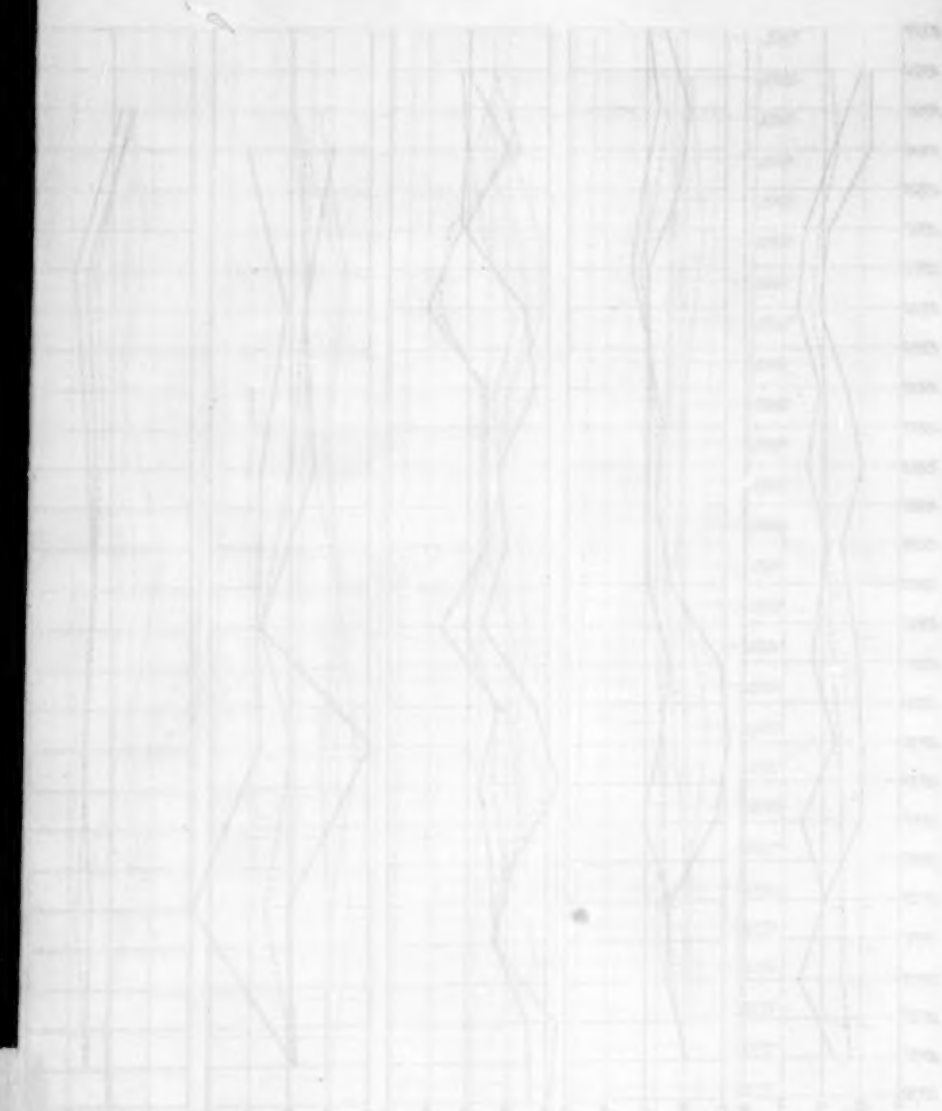
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LAND WEST VIRGINIA KEN-TUCKY TENNESSEE MISSOURI SEE

R=1%. M=1/3; R=1%. M=1/3; R=2%. M=1/3; R=1%. M=1/10; R=2%.



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of the administration and conduct it under the direction of their political chiefs, is far better suited to the rapid alternation of parties, than is our practice of rotation in office. The same thing may be said of the English custom of regarding acts of parliament once passed as enduring portions of the statute book, which are not to be lightly repealed by the other party when it comes to power, even though it may have opposed their enactment. No one will deny that this country has suffered severely from the sudden reversals of our tariff policy during the last seven years. But in order that a change may be made in our legislative habits, it is necessary not only that each party should feel an obligation to leave the work of the other untouched, but also that it should enact no laws which its rival cannot respect.

So much America might learn from England, but on the other hand, the likelihood of rapid political oscillations confirms the advantage of a constitution which removes questions of fundamental importance from the domain of ordinary legislation. Matters that ought to be beyond the reach of party politics had better be so hedged about that they can be dealt with only by something more authoritative than a party majority, or else time enough ought to be required for their consideration to permit a political oscillation to take place. In one form or the other this is effectually done by our constitutions in the case of a great many subjects. It has been said that a constitution limits the whim, not the will, of the people, and in view of the rapid alternations of party, the desire of a mere party majority cannot be said to express the lasting popular will. The tendency to political oscillations in a democracy teaches, therefore, the ever growing value of constitutional limitations.

A. LAWRENCE LOWELL.

*Boston, Mass.*

## BRIEFER COMMUNICATIONS.

### SOME ASPECTS OF THE THEORY OF RENT.

The exposition of the doctrine of rent has since the time of Ricardo recognized with greater or less distinctness two aspects to the theory. The Ricardian proposition is demonstrated, first, by reference to the varying fertility of different tracts of land subjected to the same amount of labor, and secondly, by reference to the decreasing productivity of successive "doses" applied to the same land. In many of the current text-books, however, no attempt is made to correlate these two processes.\*

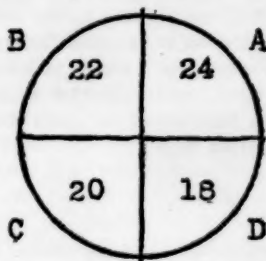
Presumably because of its greater simplicity and because of its wider application, attention is generally directed to the increase of agricultural production, through the extension of cultivation and to the consequences which follow from it for the theory of rent. The prominence given to this aspect of the theory frequently leads students to believe that this is the only question at issue in the theory of rent and gives an exaggerated importance to the knotty question of the existence of no-rent land. Text writers rarely fall into the error of stating that this is all there is to the theory of rent and generally refer with greater or less distinctness to the effect of increasing intensity of cultivation upon the product of the soil. At the same time it is believed that the subject remains uncertain and vague in the mind of the student, because the relation between the extensive and intensive theory of rent is not carefully worked out.

It is not in any hope of adding to the generally accepted doctrine of rent that the writer is tempted to seek a solution to the difficulty which has been named. It is simply with the hope of establishing a clearer understanding of the subject that a demonstration of the relation of the two parts of the doctrine of rent is here presented for the consideration of teachers and students of political economy. Instead, therefore, of treating the subject in general terms, it seems advisable to attach our consideration to the demonstration of the doctrine of rent which is probably most familiar in America, that of President Walker. For this purpose we may reproduce here his well-known diagram, designating the various tracts by the letters A, B, C, D.

His familiar demonstration assumes that equal quantities of labor are applied to these successive tracts of land of unequal fertility, so

\* Cf. J. H. Hollander, "The Concept of Marginal Rent," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. ix, pp. 175 et seq., especially p. 183.

that by the time cultivation has reached Tract D the cost of production is represented by 18 bushels—the return under the most unfavorable conditions—and the rent by 6 bushels in A, 4 in B, 2 in C and 0 in D. In the demonstration of Walker there is no attempt to formulate the amount of labor which is applied in the different tracts, it being sufficient for his purpose to designate it as being equal. Let us assume that to produce 24 bushels in the Tract A 10 units of labor are required. When all the land in this tract has been taken up and production has proceeded to Tract B, 10 units of labor no longer produce 24 bushels but 22, or 2.2 for a unit instead of 2.4 as in A. Rent appears by 2 bushels per acre or .2 bushel per unit of labor.



Now the question might arise, and certainly does arise, in the mind of the student why production proceeds to the Tract B, why it is that additional labor is not expended upon the land already in cultivation. The reason lies obviously in the diminishing return which would accrue to additional labor in the Tract A. If additional labor in the Tract A will produce as a result more than 2.2 bushels per unit, it is obvious that production cannot proceed to the Tract B, unless the demand were such that it could not be satisfied by the increased product of A resulting from such additional labor. But if it becomes profitable to cultivate B at a return of 2.2 per unit, it is likewise probable that some additional labor will be applied to A, producing not 2.4 per unit as before, but at least 2.2. So that instead of equal quantities of labor being applied to A and B, A will be worked more intensively and consequently there will be an unequal amount of labor applied to the two tracts.

The number of additional units which would be applied to the Tract A with as great a proportionate return as the labor applied to B will, of course, depend upon circumstances. For the purpose of this demonstration we might assume that this is represented by 1 unit. As a consequence of B having been taken into cultivation we shall have the following situation in the Tract A:

10 units producing 24 bushels			
I	"	"	2.2
II	"	"	26.2

The cost per unit being according to the supposition 2.2 bushels, the aggregate cost of these 11 units will be 24.2 and the rent



26.2—24.2 or 2 bushels, the same as if 10 units had been applied to A and 10 to B, according to the supposition of Walker.

If we proceed a step further and assume that the Tract B is entirely occupied, cultivation will, according to Walker, proceed to Tract C, where 10 units of labor will produce 20 bushels or 2 per unit. Again, it must be assumed that coincident with this extension of agriculture to less fertile lands there will be an additional application of labor to the tracts already cultivated, providing such labor produce a return at least equal to 2 bushels per unit of labor. If again we assume that 1 unit may be added to Tracts A and B with this result we shall find when C is cultivated the following situation in A:

10 units producing 24 bushels			
1	"	"	2.2
1	"	"	2.0
12	"	"	28.2

The cost per unit being now 2.0  
their aggregate cost will be  
and the rent

12 x 2, or 24 bushels			
28.2	— 24,	"	4.2

Here we have not only an increase of the aggregate production but an increase in rent in the Tract A over what would have taken place had 10 units been applied equally to the three tracts A, B and C. In the latter case the rent of A when C was cultivated would have been 4 bushels. It will be observed that the increase in the rent .2 bushel is exactly equal to the difference between the product of the 12th and 11th unit. In other words, as production proceeds to the less fertile soil additional labor applied to the more fertile land will produce a rent. Of course, this process must actually take place, as it is contrary to the probabilities to suppose that the cultivators of A will continue to apply only 10 units when by the application of 11 they can increase their rent.

If the Tract D be taken into cultivation, the fact of the contemporaneous action of the two underlying motives of the law of rent is still more clearly seen. Inasmuch as 10 units in D produce 18 bushels, the cost per unit becomes 1.8. It may be assumed that additional units can be added to the tracts previously under cultivation, and if they can be, we may rest assured that they will be.

Consequently we should have under these circumstances in the Tract A, when D is cultivated:

10 units producing 24 bushels			
1	"	"	2.2
1	"	"	2.0
1	"	"	1.8
13	"	"	30.0

The cost of these units is again  
and the rent consequently

13 x 1.8, or 23.4 bushels			
30.0	— 23.4,	"	6.6

With the cultivation of D we have exhausted the possibility of extending cultivation of less fertile lands, according to the terms of our proposition. In order to illustrate the matter fully, let us now glance at the situation when D is cultivated upon the Tracts B and C. In the Tract B we find:

10 units producing 22 bushels			
1	"	"	2.0
1	"	"	1.8
<hr/>			<hr/>
12	"	"	25.8
So that the cost is 1.8 x 12, or 21.6 bushels			
and the rent equals			4.2

At the same time in the Tract C we find:

10 units producing 20 bushels			
1	"	"	1.8
11	"	"	21.8
The cost is 1.8 x 11, or 19.8 bushels			
the rent is			2.0

Comparing these tracts we see that the last unit applied to old lands, as well as the labor which is applied to new lands, yields no rent. We see, however, that those units which precede the last, as applied to the old land and which are yet in excess of the total units applied to the last new land cultivated, do yield a rent. It is clear, therefore, that such units will be applied, that the extensive and intensive progress of agriculture will go on side by side. The result can be best shown in a comparison of the following diagrams. The first represents the situation which would result from the assumption that the same quantity of labor is applied successively to the various tracts. The second shows the more probable result when increased quantities of labor are applied to the more fertile lands according to the assumption of the foregoing demonstration.

FIGURE I.

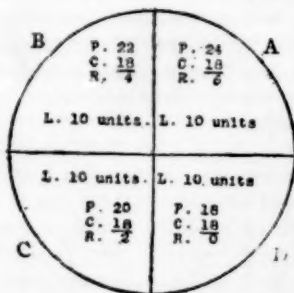
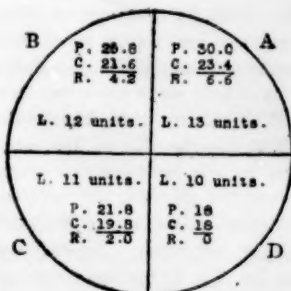


FIGURE II



(P stands for the product, C for the cost, R for the rent, and L for labor.)

In comparing these diagrams it will be noted that in the first a farm located at the centre and consisting of 1 acre of each quality of land would absorb 40 units of labor, would produce 84 bushels and would yield a rent of 12 bushels. In the second diagram the same farm would absorb 46 units of labor, would produce 95.6 bushels and would yield a rent of 12.8 bushels.

In the foregoing demonstration it has been assumed for the sake of simplicity that with each advance of agriculture to tracts of lesser fertility, an additional unit of labor has been applied to the tracts already in cultivation. As stated at the outset the amount of additional labor which might be applied would unquestionably be determined by circumstances and for the purposes of demonstration an exact formulation of this quantity is not essential. It might, however, be closer to the real facts to assume that the additional labor which is first applied would be absorbed by the land more readily and yield greater results than that which is applied subsequently. Taking the Tract A for instance, it is probable that additional units with an effectiveness of 2.2 bushels per acre would be more in number than those which had an effectiveness of 2 bushels per acre. To introduce this element into our demonstration we might fairly assume the following situation in A when D had been taken into cultivation:

10 units producing 2.4 per unit or 24 bushels				:
3	"	"	2.2	" " " 6.6
2	"	"	2.0	" " " 4.0
1	"	"	1.8	" " " 1.8
<hr/>				
16				36.4
The cost of the units being 16 x 1.8, or 28.8 bushels				
the rent would be 36.4 - 28.8, " 7.6 "				

On the same supposition we would have in the Tract B 10 units at the rate of 2.2, 2 at the rate of 2 and 1 at the rate of 1.8. This change in the assumption does not, it will be observed, change the principle for which we have contended, but merely the numerical results. It simply means that the first steps toward intensity in agriculture will yield upon the most fertile tracts, a greater absolute, as well as relative rent, than subsequent steps.

The significance of the general principle thus set forth in relation to the existence of no-rent land can now be brought clearly before the student. It will be observed that when the Tract D is occupied, according to Walker's demonstration resort is had to some distant territory. To explain that a further rise of rent is possible by the foregoing demonstration it is obvious, however, as it has been brought more clearly before the student that successive

applications of labor bring in decreasing returns, that the assumption of other land is no longer necessary. It will readily be understood that additional units of labor on the land D will produce less than 1.8 bushels per unit. If an additional unit produce, for example, 1.6, and there be a demand for the products in excess of what can be produced in the whole territory, according to our supposition, then additional labor will be applied not only to D but also to the other tracts. The product under the most disadvantageous conditions will be 1.6 bushels whether the labor be applied to D or any of the other tracts. Therefore, according to the Ricardian theory all units producing more than 1.6, those on D, as well as in the other tracts, will yield a rent.

Practical experience in classroom work has demonstrated to the writer the effectiveness of the foregoing variant from current presentations of the subject. He hopes that it may prove of some value to his fellow instructors.

ROLAND P. FALKNER.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

#### RELATION OF CITIES AND TOWNS TO STREET RAILWAY COMPANIES.

The recent report of the special committee appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts to investigate the relations between cities and towns and street railway companies\* deserves the careful consideration of every one interested in the problems that have accompanied the growth of cities. The care with which the investigation was conducted and the great ability with which the conclusions of the committee have been formulated, give to the report an exceptional position in the series of investigations covering this class of questions during recent years. The report of the committee is comparatively short, covering but thirty-nine pages. In addition, however, the volume contains the draft of a street railway act which embodies the recommendations of the committee. Furthermore, in a series of appendices the following special topics are discussed:

First.—A presentation of the general subject of franchise-granting in this country and in Europe, by the secretary, Walter S. Allen, Esq.

Second.—Abstracts of the statutes of the various states relating to franchises and methods of taxation of street railways.

Third.—A detailed discussion of the relation between street railway companies and the public authorities in the larger cities of the United States.

Fourth.—A similar discussion of conditions in European cities.

Fifth.—A statement as to municipal ownership and operation of street railways in England, by Robert P. Porter, Esq.

Sixth.—An extract from the Rapid Transit and Tax Commissions' reports in relation to the readjustment of the corporation tax.

\* House Document No. 457.

And finally various tables presenting data on questions of taxation, length of street railway lines, etc.

The first effect of the report will be to dissipate many illusions and misconceptions as to the conditions of street railway traffic in this country and abroad. The report of the commission, together with the material presented in the appendices, is striking proof of the fact that the conditions of urban communication in this country and abroad are so different, that direct comparison is sure to be misleading. The comparatively restricted area of most European cities and the fact of concentration of great masses of population within this small area, tend to make the transit problem far simpler than in the United States. Furthermore, the conditions of social and business life in the former; the fact that there is no such sharp dividing line between business and resident sections as is the case in our American cities, serves to lessen the demand for rapid communication.

The report of Mr. Porter on "Municipal Ownership of Street Railways in England" emphasizes the fact, known to every one who has traveled abroad, that the process of improvement in transit facilities has been immeasurably slower than in the United States. The contrast, emphasized by the commission, is one between regulated and unregulated development. Few would be inclined to disagree with the conclusion that this fact of unregulated development, this lack of control over private corporations performing quasi-public service, has served to stimulate corporate initiative and enterprise. The great street railway corporations having received their franchises in perpetuity or for indefinite periods, without the necessity of making any considerable return to the city for the privileges so granted, have shown a willingness to experiment, to adopt new and improved methods of transportation, to replace the old type of cars by new models, which would have been considerably lessened had they been hampered by short-term franchises, or had they have been in fear of vexatious and burdensome control by the public authority. At all events, the astounding changes, one might almost say revolution, that has been effected in urban communication within recent years is largely traceable to the readiness to experiment and to sacrifice large sums of money in such experimentation. American corporations stand in marked contrast in this respect with the conservatism of European companies; with their reluctance to make any changes in established methods of transportation. It is said, for instance, that the Metropolitan Traction Company, of New York City, expended vast sums in experimenting with systems of underground electric transit. Having found a satisfactory system, no hesitancy was shown to substitute it for the existing method. After the change had been



effected one of the vice-presidents of the road remarked that within ten years this system would be replaced by some new form of electric or other motor power. With the desire to have the best of everything, ten years represents the usual period of usefulness of improved systems of transportation. In a word, our American communities have derived enormous benefits from this readiness of street railway corporations to experiment and to make improvements.

The policy of our city government, as well as the demand of our population, has been for the most improved methods of transportation, and we have given little thought, and, in fact, have had little interest in the question of the returns for franchise privileges. So long as the company will offer rapid communication the population is satisfied; and it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to arouse any strong public feeling on the question of the return for such privileges. The citizens of American communities are so intent upon their personal occupations that their sensitiveness does not extend beyond matters affecting their personal welfare and industrial efficiency. If the system of urban transportation meets these requirements the population is perfectly willing to overlook the question of the adequacy or inadequacy of the return which the company is making for these privileges. We have here an attitude of mind essentially different from that of European communities. The first question which arises in the granting of a franchise privilege in a foreign city is the return to the public treasury which the grantee of the franchise is willing to make. In American communities, on the contrary, this question is regarded as of secondary importance, whereas the primary question is the nature of the service, and not its cost. Provided urban transportation is rapid, we are willing to pay comparatively high rates, and even to suffer great inconvenience, such as that of overcrowding.

In the formulation of these conclusions, the commission is so much impressed with the advantages that have accrued to American communities from the very fact of unregulated development that they are extremely reluctant to increase the power of the public authority over private corporations. It is to be remembered, in reading this report, that the conclusions of the commission are intended to apply to Massachusetts conditions alone and the principles formulated should be interpreted in this light, otherwise there is danger of serious misconception. The explanation of the conservative attitude of the commission toward changes in the existing system, is to be found in the fact that of all the states of the Union, Massachusetts is the only one that has established anything like adequate financial control over its public service corporations. The system of state boards, such as the Gas and Electric Light Commissioners, the Board of Railroad Commissioners, etc., have been given such wide powers of control

over corporations that it is almost, if not quite, impossible for them to defraud the city through questionable financial operations. Where corporate financiering is under as strict control as in Massachusetts it is always possible to determine with considerable accuracy the value of a franchise and to adjust taxation accordingly. At first glance it would seem that the Massachusetts system of franchise grants for indefinite periods but with reserved power of control on the part of the local legislative bodies must be unsatisfactory. It would undoubtedly be so in any state except Massachusetts. Where, however, the profits from the exercise of the franchise can be determined without difficulty and where unreserved power of revocation stands as a constant menace to the corporation, it becomes comparatively easy to demand a fair return for the franchise privileges. The system of public control over the financial operations of the corporations prevents over-capitalization, with all its attendant evils.

As an illustration of the results of such public control the report classifies seventy-seven street railway companies in operation in the commonwealth of Massachusetts. The Boston Elevated or West End Street Railway is left out of consideration, because it occupies an exceptional position. Of the seventy-six remaining active companies "thirty-four paid no dividends in 1897, while forty-two paid dividends of from 1.25 to 10.5 per cent, averaging 4.29 per cent."<sup>\*</sup> Nor do these dividends represent a return on excessive capitalization. The capitalization per mile in stock and bonds of street railways in Massachusetts is \$46,600, which is less than the average (\$49,500) in the New England States. It is but twenty-six (26) per cent of the per mile capitalization of New York (\$177,800); but thirty-six (36) per cent of the per mile capitalization of Pennsylvania (\$128,200), and little less than forty-one (41) per cent of the average capitalization throughout the United States (\$94,100). "It is less than that in Great Britain (\$47,000), where both construction and appliances are far less costly and elaborate and over-capitalization has been guarded against with the utmost care."

It will be seen, therefore, from the foregoing description that the

<sup>\*</sup>The following table shows the percentage of net earnings of the street railway companies of Massachusetts, inclusive of the West End Company, for the five years since 1893:

	<i>Capital Investment.</i>	<i>Net Earnings.</i>	<i>Percentage of Earnings to Investment.</i>
1893 . . . . .	\$24,343,010	\$1,256,647	5.16
1894 . . . . .	26,341,333	1,400,912	5.32
1895 . . . . .	29,147,714	1,683,248	6.80
1896 . . . . .	33,878,948	2,273,552	6.71
1897 . . . . .	37,430,924	2,405,904	6.46
Average for five years . . . . .			6.16

extreme optimism of the commission in its comments on American street railway development must be interpreted with reference to the peculiar conditions in Massachusetts. The reading of the report conveys the impression that the inhabitants of Massachusetts are enjoying the benefits of improved transportation largely because of the fact that the railway companies have been given free hand to do as they choose. As a matter of fact there is no state in the Union which has subjected its public service corporations to such far-reaching control. With these facts in mind it is not surprising that the commission should decide against recommending short-term franchise grants or even fixed terms. The present system has given to the communities most of the advantages which regulation can give and has at the same time fostered in the street railway companies the spirit of initiative and the desire for improvement; two principles which it is extremely difficult to find combined in one system. It remains true nevertheless that for the great majority of the American cities the fixed term franchise, with possibility of renewal, furnishes the entering wedge for more careful control over private corporations. At the present time the all-important question is to establish some form of control in view of existing conditions. It seems more likely that a form of control of this kind will be established, however desirable the Massachusetts system may be. Ultimately we shall probably have a combination of the two, that is, state boards of control combined with fixed-term franchises.

Although the commission bases its conclusions upon Massachusetts experience, it has been led into the formulation of one or two general principles which are open to very serious question. On page 22 of the report we find the following:

"If municipalities or corporations choose, from over-eagerness or for other reasons, to enter into ill-advised or improvident agreements, which they afterwards repent, that is their affair; and the officials entering into such agreements are responsible to their constituencies, whether the body of citizens or the holders of the company's stock. It certainly is not the part of the commonwealth either to prescribe the terms of grants, or, after they are made, to examine those terms with a view to seeing that they contain nothing of which the parties to them may thereafter repent."

The principle here formulated ignores the peculiarities of American franchise grants. Were it possible for one legislature to undo the wrong done or injury inflicted by its predecessors, were the responsibility of officials to their constituents an effective remedy for such wrong, the view of the commission would be justified. As a matter of fact, however, the protection extended to private property rights, the constitutional restrictions prohibiting a state from impairing the obligation of contracts or to deprive any person of life, liberty or

property without due process of law, constitute such restrictions upon legislative discretion as to make the remedies suggested by the commission utterly inadequate. Furthermore, the statement that the commonwealth has no interest either in prescribing the terms or examining the nature of franchise grants is open to very serious question. In a case of this kind, where the action of one generation may barter away property rights which are the inalienable heritage of subsequent generations, the control of the state is to be justified upon the basis of sound political policy. The experience of European countries and the tendency toward central administrative control in our own, are sufficient evidence of the movement of popular opinion in this direction.

While the commission is opposed to fixed-term franchises, the provisions of the proposed street railway act show a strong desire on the part of the commission to assure to cities and towns an adequate return for the franchises granted. Thus Section 7 of the act provides that, in addition to the taxes now levied, every company whose annual gross receipts per mile of track operated are \$7000 or less shall pay 2 per centum of the annual gross receipts into the city treasury. In case of companies whose annual gross receipts per mile of track operated are more than \$7000, or less than \$14,000,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per centum; gross receipts from \$14,000 to \$21,000,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per centum; from \$21,000 to \$28,000,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per centum; \$28,000 or more, 3 per cent. This provision, in connection with the recommendation that the municipality should own the street railway lines, that is to say, the tracks, and lease the lines to private companies, would constitute most effective safeguards to public interests.

On the question of municipalization of street railways the commission takes a negative attitude. It clearly points out that this particular phase of municipal service is still in its experimental stage, and that where the experiment has been tried its success has not been sufficiently conclusive to warrant a more general adoption. As regards American cities, the conclusions of the commission will meet with little or no opposition.

Taken as a whole, this report is the most valuable contribution to the literature of the subject which has appeared within recent years. When interpreted in the light of the particular conditions upon which its conclusions rest, and for which the recommendations are intended, there is little with which one would be tempted to disagree. The greatest danger will come from the application of recommendations justified by Massachusetts conditions to the essentially different conditions of other American communities.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

L. S. ROWE.

## PERSONAL NOTES.

### AMERICA.

**Ohio State University.**—Dr. George Wells Knight has been appointed Professor of American History and Political Science, and elected Dean of the College of Arts, Philosophy and Science, in the Ohio State University. Professor Knight was born June 25, 1858, at Ann Arbor, Mich., and attended the public schools of that place. He entered the University of Michigan in 1874 and graduated with the degree of A. B. in 1878. The following year he spent in post-graduate study at the university and then became Principal of the High School at Lansing, Mich. In 1882 he returned to the University of Michigan for two years of post-graduate study, and received the degrees of A. M. in 1883 and Ph. D. in 1884. While studying at the university he was Instructor in History in the Ann Arbor High School, and remained there until 1885, when he was appointed Professor of History and English Literature at the Ohio State University. In 1887 his chair was changed to that of History and Political Science. During the years 1887-89 Dr. Knight was managing editor of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*. The year 1889-90 he spent in study at the Universities of Halle, Berlin and Freiburg.

Professor Knight is a member of the following associations: American Academy of Political and Social Science, American Economic Association, American Historical Association, and the Ohio Historical Society. He has written:

"*Land Grants for Education in Michigan.*" Published in the printed papers of the Michigan Pioneer Society for 1884, Vol. VII.

"*History of Land Grants for Education in the Northwest Territory.*" Pp. v, 175, New York, 1885.

"*The Centennial Celebration at Marietta.*" The Independent, April 12, 1888.

"*History of Educational Progress in Ohio.*" Published in "Historical Collections of Ohio." Vol. I. Columbus, 1889.

"*History of Higher Education in Ohio.*" With John R. Commons. (Contributions to American Educational History.) Washington, 1891.

"*Higher Education in the Northwest Territory.*" (Read before the American Historical Association.) Report of Commissioner of Education, 1887-88.

"*The Government of the People of the State of Ohio.*" Philadelphia, 1895.



"*The State and the Private College.*" Educational Review, June 1895.

"*General History of Civilization in Europe.*" By François Pierre Gillaume Guizot. Edited, with Critical and Supplementary Notes. New York, 1896.

"*Brief Historical Sketch of the City of Columbus, Ohio.*" Published in "Art Work of Columbus." Chicago, 1897.

**Dr. Frederick C. Clark** \* has been advanced to the position of Associate Professor of Economics and Sociology at the Ohio State University, and has been placed in charge of the new Department of Economics and Sociology which has been established there.

**University of Virginia.**—Dr. Richard Heath Dabney has been advanced to the position of Professor of Historical and Economical Science at the University of Virginia. Dr. Dabney was born on March 29, 1860, at Memphis, Tenn. His early education was obtained in private schools in Virginia and New York City. In 1878 he entered the University of Virginia, and he received the degree of A. M. from that institution in 1881. He then became a teacher in the New York Latin School for a year, and in 1882 went to Germany. During the three years 1882-85 he studied at the Universities of Munich, Berlin and Heidelberg, and in the last year received the degree of Ph. D. from the University of Heidelberg. In 1886 he delivered a course of lectures on the French Revolution at the Washington and Lee University. In the fall of the same year he became Professor of History at the University of Indiana. He remained there until 1889, when he was appointed Adjunct Professor of History at the University of Virginia.

Professor Dabney is a member of the following associations: American Historical Association, Southern Historical Society, and Virginia Historical Society. He has written:

"*The Causes of the French Revolution.*" Pp. x, 297. New York, 1888.

"*Outline Sketch of the Nineteenth Century in Europe.*" Progress, May, 1896.

"*University of Virginia.*" Frank Leslie's Magazine, August, 1897.

"*The Huguenot Element in Virginia's Population.*" (In press.)

"*John Randolph of Roanoke.*" (In press.)

**Washington University.**—Mr. Robert Franklin Hoxie has been appointed Instructor in Economics at Washington University, St. Louis. Mr. Hoxie was born at Edmeston, N. Y., on April 29, 1868. His early education was obtained at the Utica Free Academy, and in 1888 he entered Cornell University, remaining there until 1891, when he entered the University of Chicago, from which institution he received

\* See ANNALS, Vol. viii, p. 358, September, 1896.

the degree of Ph. B. in 1893. He continued in post-graduate study at the University of Chicago during the two years 1893-95, holding a Fellowship in Political Economy. He then studied in Germany for one year, and on his return became Acting Professor of Political Economy at Cornell College, Iowa. Mr. Hoxie has written:

"*Silver Debate of 1890.*" Journal of Political Economy, September, 1893.

"*Adequacy of the Customs Revenue.*" Ibid., December, 1894.

**Wesleyan University.**—Dr. Max Farrand has been advanced to the position of Associate Professor of History at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. Dr. Farrand was born at Newark, N. J., and obtained his early education in the private schools of that city. He entered Princeton College in 1888 and graduated with the degree of A. B. in 1892. The next two years he spent in post-graduate study at Princeton, holding a Fellowship in History during 1892-93 and a Fellowship in Social Science in 1893-94. During 1894-96 Dr. Farrand studied at the Universities of Leipzig and Heidelberg, Germany, and received in 1896 the degree of Ph. D. from Princeton University. The same year he was appointed Instructor in History at Wesleyan University. Dr. Farrand has written:

"*The Legislation of Congress for the Government of the Organized Territories of the United States, 1789-1895.*" Pp. 100. 1896.

"*Taxation of Tea, 1767-1773.*" American Historical Review, February, 1898.

"*The Delaware Bill of Rights of 1776.*" Ibid. July, 1898.

#### GERMANY.

**Rostock.**—Dr. Karl Diehl, Extraordinary Professor of Political Economy at the University of Halle, has accepted a call as full Professor at the University of Rostock. Since the date of the announcement in the ANNALS\* of Dr. Diehl's appointment at Halle, he has written the following articles in Conrad's Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften: "*Landreform,*" "*Fichte,*" "*Lassalle,*" "*Proudhon,*" "*Rodbertus,*" "*Rousseau,*" and "*Morus.*"

He has also written "*Proudhon: Sein Leben und seine Socialphilosophie.*" Part III of a treatise on Proudhon, 1896.

"*Wirtschaft und Recht.*" Conrad's Jahrbücher, 1897.

"*Ueber das Verhältnis von Wert und Preis im ökonomischen System von Karl Marx.*" Festschriften zum 25 jährigen Jubiläum des Seminars, 1898.

\* See ANNALS, Vol. III, p. 813, May, 1893.

## BOOK DEPARTMENT.

### NOTES.

WHATEVER THE ATTITUDE taken regarding the practicability of solving the problem of unemployment by the creation of special institutions for the insurance of workingmen against this evil, the movement in this direction is one that no student of social reform can afford to overlook. Efforts to introduce this species of insurance date back but a few years, yet the literature upon the subject is already a considerable one. The movement, as is well known, has thus far been chiefly confined to Switzerland, where out-of-work insurance funds have been created by the municipalities of Berne and Saint-Gall, and important studies of the question looking to future action have been made by the towns of Basel, Zürich and Lausanne. A similar fund, organized under the auspices of the city, has also been in operation for a number of years at Cologne. Mr. Georges Cornil, a Belgian author, has undertaken to bring together in a compact pamphlet of 200 pages the essential portions of the original documents, such as the constitutions and reports of the various funds that have been created, and the important propositions made elsewhere, for the insurance of workingmen against unemployment.\* Though the author makes no pretence of presenting a critical examination of the subject, stating frankly that his work has been that of compilation and translation, he has, nevertheless, in his introductory and explanatory remarks, given a clear account of the history and general character of each scheme. He also considers several of the more important instances where labor organizations on the Continent have a regular system for the indemnification of their members when out of employment. The chief value of his work, however, is that here the student can find under one cover the essential data upon which to base a further study of the question, and that thus the necessity of collecting the various constitutions and reports of the funds, which would be impossible for most American students, is obviated. An excellent bibliography precedes the study.

IT IS WELL KNOWN that the differential rates by rail between the Middle West and the cities of the North Atlantic seaboard have been investigated during the past year by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The investigation was made at the instance of the New York

\* *L'assurance municipale contre le chômage involontaire.* By M. GEORGES CORNIL. Pp. xi, 191. Bruxelles: Imprimerie Universitaire, 1898.

Produce Exchange, whose chief complaint was that the differentials on grain, flour and provisions of two cents in favor of Philadelphia and three cents in favor of Baltimore as compared with New York, were unjust to the exporters of New York. The conclusions at which the commission arrived as the result of its investigation were: "That the differentials are legitimately based upon the competitive relations of the carriers, that it does not appear upon the present record that the carriers have exceeded the limit within which they are free to determine for themselves, and accordingly, that the differentials complained of do not result in unlawful preference or advantage to Philadelphia or Baltimore over the city of New York."

To the student of transportation the importance of the commission's report is not so much in the conclusions arrived at as in the manner in which the transportation problem involved was discussed. The forces which influence railway charges in the United States were analyzed with clearness and perspicacity by Commissioner Prouty in his lengthy and ably written report.\* Students of transportation will at once compare this report with the classic one made on the same subject in 1882 by the advisory commission consisting of Messrs. Thurman, Washburne and Cooley, and the comparison cannot fail to reveal the fact that important changes have taken place in the transportation problem during the past fifteen years. The forces affecting charges on rail traffic between the Mississippi Valley and the Atlantic Seaboard have become more complex and it has become more difficult to measure the influences which they severally exert. This is tantamount to saying that with the progress of our industrial and commercial development, the railway transportation services are becoming increasingly interrelated and interdependent, are becoming more and more unified. Such expressions as "the transportation service" and "the transportation system" are becoming accurate as well as convenient terms. Those persons who have not given the railway transportation problem special study will be surprised at the number of considerations to which weight was given by the commission in passing judgment upon the fairness of the existing freight charges between the North Atlantic Seaboard and the Central West. Mr. Prouty's full and judicial statement of the report and opinion of the Interstate Commerce Commission in this case ought to be widely circulated and generally read.

\* *Differential Rates to New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. Report and opinion of the Interstate Commerce Commission on the Complaint of the New York Produce Exchange vs. Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company et al.* Pp. 75. Decided April 30, 1898.

THE FOURTH ISSUE of "The Labour Annual,"\* edited and published by Joseph Edwards, presents several novel features. In addition to the usual directory of lectures on social and political reform and the reports of leading reform organizations it contains an article by Henry George on "The Great Battle of Labour," an account of "Labour Legislation in 1897" and a series of biographical sketches of leading reformers, illustrated with forty-five portraits. The value of the publication might be greatly increased if advertisements were rigidly excluded from the body of the work and if the material were presented in more orderly and logical form. In place of a table of contents an index introduces the work. This is followed by the directory of reform lecturers and writers. Both of these would come more properly at the end, where a more detailed index would be acceptable. Notwithstanding faults of arrangement, however, the "Labour Annual" contains a great deal of useful information not otherwise available and it is to be hoped the editor will be encouraged to continue its publication in coming years.

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IN HIS "Lectures on Local Government"† Mr. Lawrence Gomme has "designed to set forth, if possible, the lines upon which the principles of local government should be studied." His work is scholarly, showing careful research and it is of permanent value; but its usefulness is greatly impaired by the fact that only a minor portion of the contents of the book is in harmony with its title. In our opinion, an effort to prove that the modern English shire is the direct outgrowth of the old tribal division, that the borough is the descendant of the old Roman town and that the existing parish or township is the heir of the manor, does not constitute a treatise on the principles of local government. The argument is ably presented, although the author has not the space to develop it as he would wish, but its only justification in the present book is Mr. Gomme's belief that localities "formed by the common interests of a community dating centuries back" "are the foundation of local government." In this conclusion we do not agree, and the county of London based on no such ancient division seems to oppose the author's view. The real point at issue is whether mediæval history furnishes the most profitable basis for the study of existing problems.

\* *The 1898 Labour Annual*. Fourth Year of Issue of the Year-book for Social and Political Reformers. Pp. 224. Price, 1s. Wallasey, Liverpool: Joseph Edwards, 1898.

† *Lectures on the Principles of Local Government*. By (GEORGE) LAWRENCE GOMME. Pp. xv, 267. London: Arnold Constable & Co., 1897.



In his discussion of the present aims and duties of local government the author does not reach as definite conclusions as in the first part of his work. He does us a service by showing the complications existing before 1888, when twenty-seven thousand disconnected authorities tried to perform the duties and avoid the dangers of local rule. His suggestion that the "burden of taxation" only arises when "the amount paid is in excess of the benefit received" and is then only such excess, is excellent. He is not equally successful in his attempt to fix a limit to the powers suitable for a local government. Rejecting as insufficient Mills' definition of the service which such a government should perform, Mr. Gomme replaces it with the statement that the services properly administered by local governments are those of general utility. Unless the limits are better known in England than they are in the United States the serviceableness of such a definition is open to question.\*

DR. CHARLES GROSS has rendered a service of inestimable value to students of English institutions by the publication of a "Bibliography of British Municipal History,"\* which deserves to take rank among the few first rate bibliographies which American scholarship has produced. In a brief introduction the author supplies some valuable information in regard to the more important sources for British municipal history and a critical estimate of the works on this subject, both general and local, which have thus far appeared. The bibliography proper is divided into two parts treating respectively of "General Authorities" and "Particular Towns." Part I is sub-divided into fourteen sections, under each of which the titles are arranged alphabetically according to authors, while in Part II the towns are arranged alphabetically, each being followed by its list of titles. This careful classification of the material, supplemented by an excellent index, makes it possible to turn at once to the books bearing upon any important phase of British municipal history.

Nor is the work a mere list of titles. In the case of most of the books referred to a few words of description or comment are appended. Asterisks are employed to designate works of particular value, while the few works not examined by the author personally, are indicated by means of daggers. Through these simple devices the value of the bibliography to the ordinary student is greatly

\* Contributed by Dr. Charles H. Lincoln.

† *A Bibliography of British Municipal History including Gilds and Parliamentary Representation.* By CHARLES GROSS, Ph.D. Pp. xxxiv, 461. Price, \$2.50. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897.

enhanced. Among the 3092 titles referred to, a very large number belong to the pamphlet and periodical literature which so easily escapes notice even in a well-catalogued library. The infinite labor and patience required for the preparation of such a work as this will only be understood by those who have undertaken similar tasks. It is a work which, once done with the conscientious care that Dr. Gross has bestowed upon it, becomes the starting point for a new epoch of historical writing. That this new impetus comes from an American scholar and an American university is particularly gratifying to our colonial pride.

"THE STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK," for 1898\* contains numerous new features which will make it even more indispensable than before to every well-appointed library. The convenient statistical survey of the British Empire, which has for several years prefaced the volume, is brought down to date. In addition, tables are given exhibiting the colonial trade of the United Kingdom and the wheat acreage and number of cattle and sheep in the leading countries of the world since 1871. Of the ten colored maps and charts published this year, one illustrates the territorial situation along the Niger, four exhibit Great Britain's trade and official representation throughout the world, while the last five show the changes in imports and exports during the last twenty-five years for leading countries. The value of these latter would be enhanced to American readers if some explanation were given of the meaning attached to the terms "general" and "special" in connection with these diagrams. The detailed information in regard to each country given in the body of the book has been carefully revised and most of the statistical tables are brought down to date. But one error has been noted, on page 1105 Wright's "Industrial Revolution of the United States" is cited when "Industrial Evolution" is meant.

THE *Verein Deutscher Eisenbahnverwaltungen* celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in July, 1896. The contribution of the Prussian Government to the celebration was a large two volume work setting forth the history of Berlin and its railroads.† The book, prepared in the Ministry of Public Works, was edited by Dr. von der Leyen.

\* *The Statesman's Year-Book; Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the World for 1898*. Edited by J. SCOTT KELLIE and I. P. A. RENWICK. (Thirty-fifth year). Pp. xxxi, 1166. Price, \$3.00. London and New York: The Macmillan Co., 1898.

† *Berlin und seine Eisenbahnen, 1846-1896*. Published at the instance of the Prussian Minister of Public Works. 2 vols., Pp. xv, 375; viii, 491. Berlin, Julius Springer, 1896.

The literary work was performed by four authors, all well-known railway officials. The work is divided into five parts. Volume I contains an introduction, Part I which treats of the historical development of the city of Berlin and describes the territorial growth of the city from the time of the electors to the present, and Part II which depicts the evolution of Berlin's railroads. The account contains the history of all railroads connecting Berlin with other cities, as well as the history of street railways of that city. Berlin is such a large railway centre that the majority of the Prussian railroads are included in the narrative, and in consequence this and the succeeding sections of the work practically contain a history of Prussian railroads and railway transportation. The three divisions contained in the second volume discuss respectively the passenger traffic, freight traffic and train service of Berlin's steam railroads and intra-mural railways. The book is in no sense critical. That was not to be expected of a work proceeding from official sources and issued as a jubilee volume. The authorship of the work and the scientific reputation of the editor vouchsafe the accuracy of the data presented and render the book one that may profitably be consulted by students of the history of Prussian railroads and the transportation system of Berlin.

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THE SIXTH AND last volume of Traill's "Social England"\* brings the reader down to the general election of 1885, and thus constitutes a suitable preface to contemporary history. To this volume some thirty-one authors have contributed and in consequence the absence of perspective and of a due sense of proportion in the treatment of different sides of social life that has characterized all the volumes of the series is somewhat accentuated. The volume is divided into four chapters treating of: (1) Peace, Retrenchment and Reform, 1815-1822. (2) Progress and Reaction, 1832-1846. (3) The Rule of the Middle Class, 1846-1865. (4) The Succession of the Democracy, 1865-1885. Each chapter is followed by an excellent bibliography and the whole work concludes with an index which leaves nothing to be desired. Like the earlier volumes this history of social England in the nineteenth century will prove serviceable as a book of reference rather than as a continuous narrative. The high authority

\* *Social England. A Record of the Progress of the People in Religion, Laws, Learning, Arts, Industry, Commerce, Science, Literature and Manners from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.* Edited by H. D. TRAILL, D. C. L. Vol. VI. *From the Battle of Waterloo to 1885.* Pp. viii, 700. Price, \$3.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897.

of most of the contributors makes their special contributions of great value and it is to these the reader will turn after having glanced through the volume as a whole.

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REVIEWS.

*The Proposed Amendments to the Constitution of the United States during the First Century of its History.* By HERMAN V. AMES, Ph. D. Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1896, Vol. II. Pp. 442. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1897.

This is the essay which won the prize awarded by the American Historical Association "for the best monograph, based on original investigation in history submitted to the council in the course of the year 1896." It is a most laborious and painstaking piece of work and will be very valuable for reference. The book is provided with an analytical table of contents, a bibliography, an index and a most noteworthy appendix: "A Calendar of all Amendments Proposed to the Constitution of the United States from the Date of Its Ratification to March 4, 1889." This list of nearly 1750 distinct propositions is carefully annotated, so that at a glance one may learn the legislative history of each proposition. A mere enumeration of these amendments fills over one hundred octavo pages, and when we consider that only fifteen of all this great number received sufficient popular favor to become part of the constitution we realize how difficult successful amendment is and what a long record of unsuccessful effort is here told. It might seem that the labor of the learned author was wasted in describing these failures, but this is hardly a fair way to estimate the value of the book. It throws valuable side lights on the political movements in our country's history and is most clear in pointing out how wise the founders were in embodying only general principles into the constitution, how much has been accomplished by interpretation and convention and how the parts of the constitution which admit of no such development are the ones which suffer most by the rigidity of our system of amendment. The book is not one for continuous reading, so much as for the study of special phases of constitutional history. In this respect the record of certain amendments which failed, is as instructive as that of those which succeeded. Considerable knowledge of history is presumed to be possessed by the reader, and the narrative can be understood only by one who has a general acquaintance with the political conditions of the times. The construction

of sentences is sometimes awkward. The split infinitive is used occasionally.

The work is divided into six chapters, of which the most interesting to the general reader are the first and the last. We begin with a general survey of the attempts to secure amendments, under which head we find a brief discussion of the proceedings of the Federal Convention with reference to amendments and a division of the history of amendments into four periods. The first of these ends in 1803 and is noteworthy for the passage of the so-called Bill of Rights and of the eleventh and twelfth amendments correcting defects which appeared in the working of the constitution. In the second period, ending with 1860, nearly 400 amendments were introduced but none were adopted. The third period, that of the Civil War and Reconstruction, saw the passage of the last three amendments, while the last period has been as productive of plans and as fruitless in results as was the ante-bellum one.

The second chapter discusses the proposed amendments affecting the form of the legislative department of the government. This is followed by a discussion of the amendments affecting the executive department, which have been many, and those affecting the judiciary, which have been few. Over one-third of the whole work is next devoted to the proposed amendments affecting the powers of government, and the book closes with a valuable summary of the procedure as to constitutional amendments. The questions here discussed are of a lively interest and we find full statement of such points as to the necessity for the signature to a constitutional amendment of the president or governor of a ratifying state, as to the reconsideration of its action by such state, and as to what constitutes the requisite two-thirds of congress and three-fourths of the states.

In general the book shows extreme accuracy and but few incorrect statements have been noted. At least two cases, one in Maryland and one in New York, can be added to the one adduced on page 42, of representatives in congress residing outside of the districts from which they are elected. The generalization on page 65, that the term of United States senators is the longest of any elective officers in the country save judges, is too sweeping. In Maryland all clerks of courts are elected for six years. The constantly changing constitutions of our states have sometimes caused slight inaccuracies in the references to them. On page 194, the statement seems grotesque that the South preferred to secede rather than to accept the Crittenden compromise amendments if adopted by any vote that lacked unanimity, when we consider that these amendments were not introduced until January, 1861. By that time, surely the time



for any such compromise was hopelessly passed. We are occasionally surprised to find how early certain proposed political reforms were introduced: for example, in 1848 Mr. Lawrence, of New York, offered an amendment embodying a system of proportional voting.

It is a little difficult to obtain generalizations on a subject such as the monograph treats, but these sentences from pages 279 and 301 seem to sum up the whole matter of constitutional amendments in a few words:

"The wisdom of the members of the Convention of 1787 in defining the powers of the government in broad and general terms has become more and more evident as time has elapsed, for, owing to this fact, it has been possible to readily adapt the constitution to the changed conditions and circumstances of advancing years. The doctrine of implied powers has been accepted to such an extent that in the most important cases where amendments have been sought, the same results have been secured without their adoption.

"To a much smaller degree has it been possible to secure any change by these unwritten amendments of the provisions of the constitution prescribing the form of government, for here the constitution admits of less freedom of interpretation, being very much more explicit in its terms."

"Why," it may be asked, "have so few of the more than eighteen hundred propositions looking to the amendment of our fundamental law been successful? In part because some were suggested as cures for temporary evils, others were trivial or impracticable, still others found a place in that unwritten constitution which has grown up side by side with the written document, and whose provisions are often as effective as those contained in the organic law; but the real reason for the failure of those other amendments which have been called for repeatedly by the general public has been due to the insurmountable constitutional obstacles in their way."

B. C. STEINER.

*Johns Hopkins University.*

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*France.* By JOHN EDWARD COURTENAY BODLEY. Two volumes. Pp. xviii, 850. Price, \$4.00. London and New York: The Macmillan Co., 1898.

The author of this work has spent seven years in France preparing himself for his task. He has mixed familiarly with many classes of French people, from the learned members of the Academy to artisans in provincial communes, and his book shows the thoroughness of his study. While we may not always agree with his conclusions, while we may think that the opinions he holds go sometimes to an

extreme, no one can fail to recognize that the book is both scholarly and profound. Its underlying principle, the dominant thought which is constantly brought forward, and around which all the author's views are centred, is the doctrine that the parliamentary system is irreconcilably contrary to the centralized administration that Napoleon fastened upon revolutionary France. Of the French Revolution Mr. Bodley says (Vol. I, p. 100): "Many of the men of 1789 began their work inspired with noble motives, but they neglected the precaution which the most elementary architects even among primitive peoples observe, not to destroy the foundations of a fabric which it is intended to re-model if it has to be inhabited during the reconstruction." The result was, of course, anarchy, from which, he tells us, France was delivered only by military conquest; and that conquest gave rise to a soldier who had a genius for government, and the capacity to understand Frenchmen. The secret of Napoleon's ability to reconstruct France, he adds, lay in the fact that he recognized the systematic disposition which the French like to see and feel in their government. It may be remarked by the way that the French showed little tendency of that kind under the old régime; but whether this characteristic antedates the Revolution or not, it is certain that the Napoleonic system has in its essential features survived every revolution unchanged, and appears to be far more deeply rooted in France than any form of government.

After discussing the historical aspects of the Revolution, and before taking up the existing political institutions, Mr. Bodley discusses the inexhaustible themes of liberty, equality and fraternity. The treatment of the last two of these is especially interesting; particularly the description of the influence of French schoolboy life on equality, and the simultaneous growth in France of the sentiment of patriotism and of the merciless cruelty of Frenchmen to one another in moments of great political excitement.

In the course of his description of the present French institutions the author dwells in a very forcible way upon some features of the government which deserve, unfortunately, all the criticism he applies to them. One of these is the position and activity of the Committee on the Budget, which weakens the authority of the ministry and makes sound financiering almost an impossibility. Another is the baneful influence exerted over the prefect and other administrative officers by the deputies and the electoral committees who stand behind them. Mr. Bodley, like almost all students of the subject, considers this evil the inevitable result of combining a centralized bureaucracy with a parliamentary system; and he points

out that although the deputies possess enormous political power and are treated with every show of respect by the executive and judicial officers in the provinces, they are, nevertheless, not held in high esteem by the country at large. This may seem a paradox, but it is not really so, for both results are due to one cause, the defective working of the parliamentary system. The individual deputies have acquired the control of a great deal of patronage which they ought not to possess, while, at the same time, the chamber has failed in its true mission as a body which can put into office and maintain there a really efficient cabinet. Both these things prevent many of the best men in France from going into public life, while, at the same time, they enable a small class of politicians to build up an influence which brings power without esteem.

The author has a chapter on corruption under the Republic, and in this he draws the picture quite as black as it is. There certainly must have been fire enough under the smoke of the Panama scandal; but to interpret the remark of Rouvier, the former minister of finance, to mean that a minister may properly use his official position to increase his private fortune up to a certain point is hardly a fair construction of his words. Rouvier said: \* "*Je pourrais m'en tenir là, sortir d'ici la tête haute, les mains nettes, aller devant toutes les juridictions, ayant, comme je l'ai dit déjà, la conscience d'avoir traversé les plus grandes affaires de ce pays sans que le chiffre de ma fortune s'en soit accru anormalement.*" It is hardly to be supposed that a man about to be tried for corruption would have deliberately admitted that he had been guilty of making money out of his office to some extent; and that this is not his meaning is made clear by the end of his speech, where he declared that he had neither directly nor indirectly received anything from any financial company.

To return to the question of parliamentary government, Mr. Bodley insists, what no one who has watched the French chamber would venture to deny, that the parliamentary form of government cannot work without the party system—that is, the division of the chamber into two parties, one of which supports the ministry, while the other belongs to the opposition. This statement recurs again and again through the second volume, and in fact the last part of the book is devoted to an interesting study of the existing political groups. The author points out that the high standard of the House of Commons is maintained by the party system; which he calls the strongest purifying agent in parliamentary government under extended suffrage. Considering that parties are a natural

\* *Journal Officiel*, séance du Dec. 21, 1892.

product which cannot be abolished at will, and considering that they exist and appear likely to continue to exist in Anglo-Saxon countries, it is consoling, after all we have heard of the evils of party, to hear something of the benefits they confer; for it is injurious, both to one's temper and one's morals, to believe that the inevitable conditions under which we live are hopelessly bad. Granting that the parliamentary form of government must fail without a party system, one naturally asks whether there is any chance that the latter may develop in France. On this point, Mr. Bodley has a very decided opinion; he thinks that it cannot; that it is contrary to the instincts and traditions of the French people, and hence that parliamentary government in France can never be a success. In fact, he would appear to be of opinion that the parliamentary system works as well as it can under French conditions; for he points out that as the chamber cannot control the ministry, a strong cabinet would be likely to dispense with the legislature altogether, and thus ministerial instability is the only possible form of ministerial responsibility. He is confident that a centralized administration is the only form of government which conforms to the wants and ideas of the French people, and hence that it cannot be abolished, and that at any time a strong man may arise who will make himself master of France and employ this tool as it was intended to be used. In fact, he considers such a government the best suited to the French people. In taking a view that would be termed in France reactionary, Mr. Bodley is not in the least influenced by attachment to any reactionary group. On the contrary, he has little respect for the Reactionaries or for most of their leaders. In one place he remarks (Vol. II, p. 354): "The bringing to scorn of monarchical sentiment in the minds of the French people has been chiefly due to the folly and perversity of the Royalist party; but the destruction of that particular form of it known as Orleanism was the almost unaided work of the Comte de Paris."

Without challenging the author's exposition of the facts, or his fundamental opinions, we may take a little more hopeful view of the future. In order that parliamentary government may work well with an extended suffrage, it is essential not only that the popular chamber, but also that the nation at large, should be divided into two parties. Now, in France this is not so. As Mr. Bodley truly says (Vol. II, p. 277): "In France the adventitious majority which puts a ministry out is no more representative of the nation's opinions or even of its temporary sentiment than is the minority which supports it." This is the reason that at general elections in France each district is fought for between the candidates with scant

regard to their relation to the cabinet in office. A striking illustration is given (Vol. II, p. 144) by the author: "I have before me," he says, "copies of several ardent local journals published during the electoral period of 1893 in places where controversy was most violent, and in not one of them, in endless columns of polemic and oratory, is the name of the then Prime Minister once mentioned either to praise or to blame him; nor that of the Minister he displaced, nor of any Minister or ex-Minister who had ever served the Republic except those connected with the district in which the newspaper circulated." So long as this is true, it is clearly absurd to expect any permanent loyalty on the part of the majority of the chamber to any particular cabinet. In England, at general elections, and in fact at all times, the parliamentary leaders, both those who are in the ministry and those in opposition, are continually making speeches over the country; and the general election turns on the question which of these two sets of leaders the country will support. Whereas, in France, it has not been the custom for any public man to speak during the campaign except in his own electoral district. Here, however, there comes a ray of hope, because for some months before the recent elections men prominent in public life, have undertaken to make stump speeches for the benefit of the nation at large. There has also been founded a national Conservative Republican Club similar to the English political clubs.

Some hope may be drawn from the very despondency of Frenchmen. Mr. Bodley tells us that pessimism is now more widespread than ever before, because (Vol. I, p. 39), "no one has a substitute to propose for the existing régime; while under every other its opponents solaced themselves with the thought that one day it could be dispensed with." Now, it is this very feeling which has hitherto made reform impossible in France. The men who did not like the existing government, instead of trying to make it better, have always been anxious to overturn it altogether, and to substitute another in its place. France has now no remedy of that sort to turn to, and hence there is a serious opportunity to improve without destroying the present institutions. In this way, it is conceivable that extreme centralization may be gradually modified and brought more into harmony with a parliamentary system. I do not say that this is probable, but simply that it is possible, for the mere absence of a utopia to be attained by revolution introduces into the problem a new element which may make possible that which could not have happened in the past.

A. L. LOWELL.

*Boston.*



*Children Under the Poor Law. Their Education, Training and After Care; together with a Criticism of the Report of the Departmental Committee on Metropolitan Poor Law Schools.* By W. CHANCE, M. A. Pp. 443. Price, 7s. 6d. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1897.

We have in this volume an admirable, detailed account of the various methods of dealing with pauper children in England. A partisan of no particular system, Mr. Chance believes that the advocates of boarding-out, who are at present occupying the floor in England, have done scant justice to the work and results of many of the poor law schools and homes. One of the purposes of the book is to give them their just measure of recognition. Mr. Chance is himself no great believer in boarding-out, at least under present social conditions in England, and it is probable that his treatment of it is not quite as just as that which he has accorded to other methods of child-saving. His very vivid portrayal of the many safeguards which must be adopted in order to prevent the transformation of boarding-out from the very best to the very worst system of dealing with juvenile dependents is certainly timely. The most valuable part of his work is the information he has gathered concerning the best methods of educating and training children in institutions—information which is accompanied by suggestive hints as to possible improvements. This material is taken largely from the Reports of the Inspectors of Poor Law Schools, which have heretofore been more or less neglected. The result is a well arranged record of administrative experience in typical poor-law institutions which must prove useful to those interested in any of the various indoor methods of dealing with children.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Chance, in his desire to do justice to poor law schools and homes, has nowhere given unqualified assent to the principle generally held by disinterested students and workers in pauperism that at best the juvenile institution or home is a necessary evil which may involve much unnecessary evil if children are not released from it at the earliest possible moment consistent with their welfare, and if during their stay in it their environment does not resemble as nearly as possible the environment of a child normally developing in family and community. Indeed, we may safely go further and say that Mr. Chance has made no clear-cut classification of the influences acting upon a child, in normal life. We find nowhere any statement, sociological or psychological, of just what he conceives the life of a child in its family relations to be and just what the loss of such life or the loss of certain parts of it amounts to. It is true that he touches

often upon these questions, but it is in a very disjointed manner. If Mr. Chance had taken the commonly accepted and entirely logical principle which we have mentioned, as his central thought in the study of these institutions, we believe he would have done them a greater service than he has. For he would have brought out more clearly the certainly remarkable success which some institutions have attained, by setting in operation within their walls so much that is good in the normal environment of a child. Occasionally we seem to catch glimpses of a spirit as fine as that found at Rugby or Eton. It is doubtful if there has been equal success in American institutions, except in such model establishments as the Lyman and Industrial Schools in Massachusetts. It must be regretted that the author by reason of misplaced emphasis, obscures the value of the material he has gathered. He may fairly be accused of laying too much stress on mere industrial training.

Mr. Chance has added nothing definite to the discussion between the advocates of cottage homes and boarding-out—perhaps the most interesting phase of the question in England to-day. That controversy has reached a stage where psychological analysis of the minutest kind must be made of child life in its family relations. Thus there is a problem in itself in the very simple question as to just what the purchasing of supplies for cottage homes by central authorities takes from its family life. How the small self-denials for others, which are daily practiced in good family life, can be given chance for development in cottage homes, is also a matter of considerable importance. On these and many similar topics we find little that is new in the book before us. The portion treating of cottage homes will be chiefly valuable to those who desire to obtain an adequate acquaintance with the system itself.

Another defect in the book must be pointed out in its loose statistical methods. Many of the figures and calculations given are quoted from reports, but to reproduce them stamps them with the author's approval. It is to be regretted that he has not been as careful as he should be in pointing out their limitations. Thus he gives currency, not infrequently, to very superficial comparisons like the following: One inspector makes a comparison of the number of unmarried pregnant women in certain workhouses, who were educated in workhouse schools and of those who were not, without the slightest reference to the proportion of these two classes in the total female population between certain ages. Without such comparison the figures are not only worthless but misleading. Indeed, Mr. Chance makes similar errors on his own account. Thus he draws up a rough comparison between the decline of pauperism in England

and in Scotland—and we are led to infer that the treatment of child paupers is the only consideration involved. There is no intimation that differences of administration with reference to adult paupers ought to be at least considered not to mention a number of the other factors in the problem.

But it is perhaps well to leave the weaknesses of Mr. Chance's statistical work to his English critics who are themselves more or less involved in the controversy. To Americans much of that controversy is of little interest. While there is general unanimity among us that boarding-out and placing-out are the ideal systems the conditions incident to their successful operation are fully recognized. At the same time the fact that the institution is a necessity, for some years to come at least, is also recognized. We have already sufficiently indicated the value of the book to both those who are interested in the boarding- and placing-out systems and those who are interested in the problem of making institutional life resemble as nearly as possible the normal life of a child. It is in these aspects that the book will be most useful to American workers and students and can be cordially commended to them.

FRANCIS H. MCLEAN.

New York City.

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*The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K. G., as Social Reformer.* By EDWIN HODDER. Pp. 195. Price, \$1.00. New York, Chicago, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1898.

Twelve years after the appearance of his three-volume biography of the Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. Hodder has prepared a sketch of the most important aspect of his hero's career, namely, that of social reformer. The author tells his story in a vivid and impressive manner, with no attempt to explain the obscure motives or trace the remote effects of Shaftesbury's work. But in the brief allusions to his inner and domestic life, we see clearly the chief springs of his conduct; and in the simple account of "things done," we can but marvel at the variety, magnitude and far-reaching results of this one man's life-work.

Shaftesbury is a striking illustration of Mr. Kidd's contention that altruism is the only sufficient motive which has caused the "privileged classes" of the nineteenth century to yield to the "masses" their demands, and, indeed, that members of the privileged classes have themselves been most active in securing for the masses a share in their own privileges. Of high rank and illustrious descent, Shaftesbury devoted the sixty years of his life in

parliament to combat with his own order in behalf of the weak and defenceless. He obeyed his ancestral motto, "Love, Serve," and made altruism the dominant and abiding motive of his conduct. And his altruism was reinforced by, or founded upon, intense religious conviction. Like the Puritans of old, he believed in God as a personal, ever-present friend, and it is stated that his "every plan, every speech, every labour was laid upon the altar as an 'offering unto the Lord.'" Hence his title, "The Puritan Earl," and hence the secret of his intense earnestness and sustained enthusiasm. It was this, too, which made his public life eminent for its unyielding integrity. He could never be swerved aside from the pursuit of his purpose by any ministerial bait or consideration. In early life he repeatedly sacrificed his personal ambition for high office in the interests of his work, and in 1866, when he was offered the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster and a seat in the cabinet, he replied that "there were still remaining fourteen hundred thousand women, children and young persons to be brought under the protection of the Factory Acts, and until that was done he could not allow himself to be withdrawn from the work of his life."

In his political creed, he was a typical Conservative. He believed that the welfare of his country was based upon the crown, the hereditary peerage and the established church; he vigorously opposed the reform bills of 1832 and 1867, and the Ballot Act of 1872, and "always used the word 'Democracy' as a term of reproach." He detested, also, the policy of *laissez faire*, and did more than any other man in England to impose legislative restrictions on employment in factories and in mines.

In 1833, seven years after his entrance into Parliament, he became the champion of the famous Ten Hours Bill in behalf of factory operatives, and won a memorable victory after fourteen years of incessant struggle against the opposition of such men as Sir Robert Peel, Richard Cobden, John Bright and Mr. Gladstone. His triumph was increased, too, by a public recantation of their sentiments on the part of most of his opponents. This was only his initial victory, however, and he continued the struggle for thirty-four years, during which time he succeeded in placing restrictions on the employment of women and children in calico print works, mines and collieries, brickfields, workshops and as chimney-sweepers; and, finally, in 1867, he put an end to the wretched "gang" system of agricultural labor, thus giving, as he said, the crowning stroke to his lifelong efforts to bring all the occupations of the young and defenceless under the protection of the law.

His activity in behalf of the laboring classes was not confined to

the houses of parliament. As chairman of England's first Board of Health from 1848 to 1854, he showed conclusively that the cholera epidemic of those years was largely due to the unsanitary condition of lodging-houses and laborers' dwellings; and in the face of strenuous opposition from water companies, commissioners of sewers, guardians of the poor and the College of Physicians, he effected some important sanitary reforms. He first described, in 1851, the evils of lodging-houses, showed how a "model lodging-house" could be erected and maintained at a profit of 6½ per cent, and pushed through the first bill for the inspection and registration of lodging-houses; and his efforts were largely instrumental in effecting the movement for model artisans' dwellings, which culminated in the "Housing of the Working Classes Act" of 1885.

It was Shaftesbury, too, who took up, in 1828, the question of the existing and proper treatment of the insane, and was made chairman of the Board of Commissioners on Lunacy, a position which he occupied for more than half a century, and in which he succeeded in passing the two bills of 1845, "the Magna Charta of the Insane." Under these bills, Lord Shaftesbury and his board changed the state of the insane from a veritable *inferno* to its present merciful condition.

His private efforts in behalf of children are scarcely less memorable than the legislation he secured for them. For more than forty years he was president of "The Ragged School Union," and was a prime mover in developing its manifold activities, such as its refuges, training ships, shoe black brigades, industrial classes, farm school and colonial emigration. Space will not admit of even an enumeration of the many other social and church reforms which substantiate his biographer's claim that he was "*the Social Reformer of the Victorian era.*" It should not be neglected to observe, however, that one secret of his remarkable success as a reformer was his thorough personal study of the evils he sought to remove. His speeches and reports are mines of information regarding almost incredible evils in English society in the second and third quarters of this century; and Mr. Hodder deserves our thanks for weaving an account of many of these evils into his biography, for they help us to measure the humanitarian progress which has accompanied the material development of the last half century, as well as encourage us to seek earnestly for unsuspected evils in our own day and to work hopefully for their reform.

WILLIAM I. HULL.

*Swarthmore College, Pa.*



*American Ideals, and Other Essays, Social and Political* By THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Pp. vi, 354. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897.

This volume brings together a series of fifteen essays which have appeared in magazine form from time to time during the past twelve years. They fall readily into four groups. The first four—"American Ideals"; "True Americanism"; "The Manly Virtues and Practical Politics," and "The College Graduate and Public Life"—are concerned with the elements of patriotism and with the qualities that fit a man for serviceableness in a democracy like our own. The essays of the second group—"Phases of State Legislation"; "Administering the New York Police Force"; "Machine Politics in New York City"; and "Six Years of Civil Service Reform"—are keen analyses of present American political institutions by a man who from the closest contact knows whereof he speaks. In the "Vice-Presidency and the Campaign of 1896"; "How Not to Help Our Poorer Brother"; "The Monroe Doctrine"; and "Washington's Forgotten Maxim" certain questions of national policy receive vigorous treatment. The last three of the essays are elaborate and spirited reviews of three of the most striking of recent contributions in the field of social science.

In Mr. Roosevelt's view Americanism is not a narrow, petty thing, a cloak for national defects. It is raised above localism or sectionalism—"the patriotism of the village or of the belfry"—and stands in broad contrast with that lack of patriotism which masquerades as cosmopolitanism. "It is a matter of spirit, conviction and purpose, not of creed or of birthplace." In false ideals he finds not a few obstacles to the maintenance of such a broad Americanism. Not so much to be dreaded are open assaults upon American institutions; the dangers lie rather in the influence of men who, while keeping within the pale of the law and maintaining a certain respectability, still undermine public and private morality by their example. Very timely is the warning against our American love of smartness, our worship of success however won, the pernicious influence of demagogues and the coarsening effect of a materialism that seeks no higher national good than money and money's worth.

"The Manly Virtues and Practical Politics," and also "The College Graduate and Public Life" lay stress upon the necessity of "supplementing the gospel of morality by the gospel of efficiency," a doctrine which Mr. Roosevelt's own career has clearly exemplified. College education too often develops an aptitude for cynical criticism rather than for practical serviceableness. Yet the college graduate

"is bound to rank action far above criticism, and to understand that the man deserving of credit is the man who actually does the things, even though imperfectly, and not the man who confines himself to telling about how they ought to be done." How this doctrine of efficiency may be carried out is the theme of the four essays which follow. Here Mr. Roosevelt speaks from actual experience as a member of the New York Assembly, as Civil Service Commissioner and as Police Commissioner of the City of New York. Though now a dozen years old, "Some Phases of State Legislation" offers to the reader perhaps the best presentation of our American state legislatures. In his "American Commonwealth" Mr. Bryce puts this essay under heavy tribute. The humors and discouragements of legislative work are vividly portrayed. Unsatisfactory, disgraceful even as is much of our legislative material, the responsibility is to be traced back to the constituents themselves and to the men of influence whose self-interest or laziness keeps them from bringing in a new order. It is to be regretted that, instead of revising this essay and illustrating it still further from the striking experiences of the last twelve years, Mr. Roosevelt has contented himself with saying, by way of a foot note: "At present, I should say that there was rather less personal corruption in the legislature; but also less independence and greater subservience to the machine, which is even less responsive to honest and enlightened public opinion."

Less successful is the discussion of questions of national policy. The essays never conceal their writer's personality. Everywhere there is robustness, virility; but the "manly virtues" are made synonymous with "the fighting qualities," and the favorite metaphors are drawn from the football field or the prize ring. Yet the fighter, devoting his energies to the administering of "punishment," is not always in a mood to pass candidly upon the ethics of the question at issue. Despite obvious effort, in these essays Mr. Roosevelt not infrequently shows himself by temperament hardly less a partisan and a "punisher" than a patriot. He deems it undesirable to define the Monroe Doctrine "so rigidly as to prevent our taking into account the varying degrees of national interest in varying cases." To his own mind it is obvious that its observance should be enforced in the two Americas, "and in the islands on either side of them," while "every true patriot, every man of statesman-like habit should look forward to the day when not a single European power will hold a foot of American soil." A hint as to the process by which this consummation is to be brought about may be found

in the assertion: "The diplomat is the servant, not the master, of the soldier."

To a fighter holding views like these it is not strange that argument by epithet should appeal. The man who ventures to question whether intervention in the Venezuelan controversy was involved in anything which can properly be called the Monroe Doctrine, or whether the bully's place among the nations is the highest goal for the United States, is straightway annihilated by being dubbed "anti-American," his queries and arguments are disposed of by the assertion that those who on these points differ with the essayist are "too short-sighted or too unimaginative to realize the hurt to the nation that would be caused by the adoption of their views;" or "they have not thought much of the matter, or are in unfortunate surroundings by which they have been influenced to their own moral hurt;" or this taking of "the wrong—that is, the anti-American side," is due to "sheer timidity." Consistency is not always too apparent. Thus, in the fervor of a discussion of the Monroe Doctrine a European colony like British Guiana, "looked at through the vista of the centuries," is made to play a pitiable figure as compared with Venezuela or Ecuador. But in reviewing Pearson's "National Life and Character," the essayist lightly tells us: "No American or Australian cares in the least that the tan-colored peoples of Brazil and Ecuador now live under governments of their own instead of being ruled by viceroys from Portugal and Spain."

On the whole, it may be questioned whether these essays did not make their best impression in their original form of publication. Through them all there sounds the note of sturdy patriotism; their verve is admirable. But in consecutive reading there is some danger that they may pall. The favorite ideas reappear upon the stage at frequent intervals, and their costumes, though brilliant, are too little varied.

GEORGE H. HAYNES.

*Worcester Polytechnic Institute.*

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*A Quaker Experiment in Government.* A history of the connection of the Quakers with the government of Pennsylvania, from 1682 to 1756. By ISAAC SHARPLESS, President of Haverford College. Pp. 280. Price, \$1.50. Philadelphia: Alfred J. Ferris, 1898.

There was a need for a study of the political history of the Pennsylvania Quakers during the first hundred years of the life of the colony which Penn founded for the purpose of realizing the ideals of government and religion held by himself and his fellow-believers. Former students have relied upon political records for

their sources of material, and, not being members of the Society of Friends, have not always understood the significance of the actions taken by the Quakers. President Sharpless has studied both the 'ordinary public sources of information' and 'the contemporary Quaker view' as revealed in the records of the various Quaker meetings and in the correspondence of the more influential Friends. "The minutes of the yearly and other meetings," he says in the preface of the book, "would give a different idea of the political principles from that to be gathered from the printed proceedings of either the council or the legislature, and all should be considered in making up a correct historical judgment." Being a Friend, President Sharpless approaches his subject in full sympathy with the views held by Penn and the other Quakers, but his sympathies have not made him a partisan; he has throughout maintained a commendable attitude of fairness.

The chapters of the book deal severally with the "Principles of Government," "The Quakers in England," "The Quakers in Pennsylvania," "Democracy and Civil Liberty," "Religious Liberty," "The Indians," "Military Matters," and the "Last Days of Quaker Control in the Assembly." The principles upon which the Quakers attempted to found their American commonwealth the author declares were: (1) Perfect democracy; (2) Perfect religious liberty; (3) Perfect justice and fairness in dealing with the Indians; (4) The absence of all military and naval provision for attack and defence; (5) The abolition of oaths. The book sets forth in detail the efforts which the Quakers made to carry out these principles, shows to what extent the members of the Society of Friends abandoned these principles and analyzes the forces that account for the ultimate failure of the Quakers to realize their political ideals, and their consequent retirement from the control of the assembly in 1756.

The two chapters on "Democracy and Civil Liberty" and "Religious Liberty" are the best as well as the longest in the book. They are especially well done, and reflect the catholicity of the author's mind. The political doctrines of William Penn are well outlined, and the discussion of their practical working in Pennsylvania constitutes a suggestive chapter in political science.

The fact that the Quakers were kept in control of the assembly for nearly seventy years, although they constituted a decreasing minority of the population after the beginning of the eighteenth century, is one that has not been satisfactorily explained by previous writers. President Sharpless gives the subject consideration in different parts of his book, and seems to exonerate the Quakers from resort to any sharp political practices. The political alliance of the

Germans with the Quakers enabled the Friends to retain political control as long as they desired to accept seats in the assembly. The reasons why the Germans always voted for the Quakers are not adequately given by the author. It is probable that a closer study than has yet been made of the economic history of the colony will throw added light on the question.

President Sharpless has written a book which students of the colonial history of Pennsylvania cannot afford to pass by. A perusal of the book will materially aid in obtaining a clear picture of the forces which controlled the history of Pennsylvania from 1689 to 1756. The author commands a clear, terse style, free from all verbiage. Those who have read this work will be pleased to know that it is soon to be followed by a volume covering the history of the Quakers from 1756 through the Revolutionary War.

EMORY R. JOHNSON.

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*Outlines of Sociology.* By LESTER F. WARD. Pp. xii, 301. Price, \$2.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.

Readers who have hesitated to follow Professor Ward through the two stout volumes of his "Dynamic Sociology" (1883) and the somewhat exacting pages of his "Psychic Factors of Civilization" (1893), will welcome the compact statement of his social philosophy in this book which is made up of twelve articles originally published (1895-97) in the *American Journal of Sociology*. As these articles formed a coherent and progressive series, they naturally assume a unity in book form, and are in no sense a mere collection of detached essays.

The division of the work into "Social Philosophy" and "Social Science" is open to attack from those who demand in science a first hand dealing with phenomena. It is true that throughout the book social phenomena are constantly assumed, but nowhere defined, except by rather indirect implication, *e. g.*, "Society itself, which includes all the structures and institutions that may exist at any given time, *together with a vague but general psychic integration*" . . . (p. 170). But it is fair to say that the author in his preface is far from strenuous about this division, very justly insisting that philosophy and science are relative terms at best. By the strict constructionists the whole volume would be set down as social philosophy. The more specific phenomena of association such as imitation, subordination, social consciousness (*i. e.* as a subjective fact), etc., are nowhere systematically or even directly dealt with.

Part I seeks to explain the relation of sociology to other sciences.



It is a clear and able exposition and defence of the Comtean hierarchy which has suffered in its scientific status from the eccentricities of its formulator. Professor Ward admits the possibility of as many valid classifications of the sciences as there are useful principles of classification, but he insists that the principle of increasing complexity and serial dependence is of great value. It arranges certain general sciences in a genetic order that is full of meaning for the interpretation of nature and society. This order must be: physics and chemistry, biology, psychology and sociology.

The chapter on the "Relation of Sociology to Cosmology" sets forth the author's monistic philosophy in a clear and interesting manner, but perhaps his most important thesis is contained in his discussion of the organic or biological theory of society. A true *homology* is asserted between the animal nervous system and the regulating—largely governmental—system of society. Judged by this standard society is an organism of a very low type with only slight powers of co-ordination, and conscious adjustment. This is another way of approaching the conclusions of DeGreef, von Hartmann and others who emphasize the predominant part played by the unconscious in social development. To this discussion Professor Ward returns in Part II. Since sociology rests directly upon psychology, the nature of mind is of the utmost concern to the student of society. The author distinguishes two faculties or sides of mind, the affective, which supplies motive power, and the rational or intellectual, which assumes the task of guidance. Will resolves itself simply into the resultant of feeling directed by intelligence. Feeling is naturally associated with pleasure seeking and pain avoiding; *i. e.*, desires which pursue concrete objects. On the basis of this psychological analysis Professor Ward proceeds to construct society. The desires of men are declared to constitute social forces, true natural forces which may be controlled by intellectual devices in a way strictly parallel with the mechanician's control of physical energies. The discussion of legislation as invention, based on a mechanical view of society, is one of the most interesting parts of the volume. The practical value of the conception appeals to the reformer who is in search of guiding principles. One cannot escape the feeling that a few concrete illustrations of "attractive" legislation would make the point even more clear and definite. But the limits of the book could not reasonably admit such expansion.

The distinctions between social statics and dynamics are drawn with skill and emphasized with much vigor. While there may be some difference of opinion as to the need for such new words as social genesis and telesis, there can be no dispute as to the value

of the ideas involved. That society progresses at first spontaneously and unconsciously, only in its latest stages displaying anything like collective purpose, are facts which cannot be denied.

In the discussion of individual and collective teleis the author very clearly points out the difference between social activities which are motivated by the immediate personal self-seeking of individuals and those which have their origin in a commonly conceived general aim.

In general it may be said that Professor Ward has won for himself a place as dean of American sociologists. He has treated society most admirably from the objective point of view. His work must have a permanent value, in spite of the trend away from the interpretation of "society as a whole" toward the explanation of social relations in other terms. The centre of present interest is not the abstract individuals of the older individualist psychology compounded into a great whole, but the actual concrete individual conceived as inextricably bound up in that plexus of personalities which we call society. Both the social and individual aspects of the problem are important, and to Professor Ward is due the credit of having ably outlined the whole field from the collective or objective point of view.

GEORGE E. VINCENT.

*The University of Chicago.*

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*Industrial Democracy.* By SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB. Two volumes. Pp. xxii, 929. Price, \$6.00. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897.

The authors of this book gave to the world in 1894 the fullest history of the English trade unions which we possess. It was a great and an entirely creditable achievement, and as a monument of industrious and patient labor it belonged to the best works of its kind. Now Mr. and Mrs. Webb have eclipsed their feat of four years ago by publishing a scientific analysis of trade unionism in a work which admirably supplements the earlier volume and should unconditionally be placed side by side with it in the library. "Industrial Democracy" will be a revelation to those to whom hitherto trade unions have been mere labor organizations of more or less accidental genesis and indefinite aims. The authors of this exhaustive treatise have made it their business to analyze and synthesize the written and unwritten constitutions and the traditional and conventional practices, methods and formularies of trade unions, and the result is a systematic presentation of the whole subject

which cannot but be of profound interest and value alike to the sociological student and the practical politician.

The work is divided into three parts, of which the first and shortest deals with trade union structure, the second, and by far the longest, with trade union function, and the third with trade union theory. The early trade club was a democracy of the most rudimentary type, free alike from permanently differentiated officials, executive council or representative assembly, and we are shown how, step by step, the modern trade union, embracing all these distinctively democratic features, has been evolved. The authors are satisfied that the departure from the early form of democratic government was less a result of the growth of the financial and secretarial transactions of the unions than of the exigencies of their warfare with the employers, and they regard the legal and social persecutions to which trade unionists were subjected until about the year 1824, as the determining factor in the case. Nevertheless, they point out how slowly, how reluctantly and how incompletely the trade unionists have incorporated in their constitutions "what is often regarded as the specifically Anglo-Saxon form of democracy—the elected representative assembly, appointing and controlling a standing executive." The fact is, that in the early days the trade unionists did not know to what their action and combination would lead; they moved as events impelled them, and the changes in organization which have successively followed have been dictated by experience and expediency. Here political democracy and industrial democracy, in the United Kingdom at least, have advanced on very similar lines, and the success and stability of both may be largely attributed to the evolutionary process. The authors follow in considerable detail the changes of organization which resulted when trade unionism passed from the local to the national phase of its career, until to-day the salaried, and virtually permanent official (general secretary) occupies a position of authority and influence which was never contemplated originally, while the executive committee, though nominally entrusted with large powers of control, has taken more and more a secondary place. Incidentally, the authors observe that "so strong is the dominant impulse toward the complete union of a trade from one end of the United Kingdom to the other, that it seems during the last few years to be slowly overcoming the reluctance of both English and Irish organizations," but at the same time they are not blind to the existence of trade union rivalry—as, for instance, antagonistic "touting" for members—the suicidal effects of which are pointed out in the chapter on "Inter-union Relations." In their opinion

all attempts at great "general" aggregate unions are foredoomed to failure, and the most efficient form of trade union organization is "one in which the several sections can be united for the purposes that they have in common, to the extent to which harmony of interest prevails, and no further, whilst at the same time each section preserves complete autonomy wherever its interests or purposes diverge from those of its allies."

In the second section of the work, the actual as distinct from the theoretical functions of trade unions are described—the methods employed, the regulations imposed upon the members and the general policy pursued. These are far from being the same for all unions or groups of unions, and as a consequence the authors have been compelled to extend their investigations to every single organized trade in every part of the Kingdom. It may be objected that in covering the ground so thoroughly the sense of proportion has been lost—the third part runs to no fewer than 460 pages—and that an equal purpose would have been served had the treatment been far less exhaustive. At any rate, Mr. and Mrs. Webb have left no room for rivals and successors; the work has been done once for all, and one subject of sociological inquiry, at least, will henceforth be closed to those ambitious of literary distinction. It is profoundly interesting to follow our authors as they trace the gradual change which has come over the trade unions in the formulation of their purposes and aims. "The chief object of our society is to elevate the social position of our members" is a typical general statement, but the words are variously interpreted by the unions. In the mouths of the Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners they involve the "securing to all members the fair reward of their labor," "the enforcement of the Factory Acts and other legislative enactments for the protection of labor," etc.; while the general rules of the National Union of Gasworkers and General Laborers places in the forefront the shortening of the hours of labor, the obtaining of an eight hours day, the raising of wages both of men and women, the abolition, where possible, of overtime and Sunday work (necessarily very common in the gas-making industry) and the election on public bodies, of labor representatives pledged to out-and-out collectivism.

The authors examine at great length the various contrivances by means of which trade unions pursue their objects: (1) The first of these is the method of mutual insurance, which is of the twofold nature of "friendly" insurance (as against accident, sickness and old age) and "out of work" insurance. "Friendly" insurance, however, is and must always be a subsidiary consideration, not only

because it may easily be effected in other and better ways, but because the question with which trade unions, from their very nature, most concern themselves are those of wages and the conditions of employment. (2) The second method of trade union action is that of collective bargaining, which has nowadays superseded the old and ineffective plan of individual bargaining in a very large portion of the industrial field, and it is noteworthy that the largest and most enterprising employers are found to prefer this sort of negotiation, not simply because of the clumsiness of the old system, but because negotiations with delegated representatives of their workpeople are found to be attended with more permanent and therefore more satisfactory results. (3) A further means of determining the extent of wages and the conditions of employment is arbitration, the principle of which is that "decision is not (necessarily) the will of either party or the outcome of negotiation between them, but the fiat of an umpire or arbitrator." Naturally arbitration is generally resorted to as a means of accommodation or conciliation, as a rule, when negotiation has resulted in a dead-lock, and yet the points of difference are regarded as capable of adjustment on the principle of give-and-take. The authors are not blind to the disadvantages of this method of settling outstanding differences of opinion. The chief is that it is impossible, legally, to bind either side to accept the umpire's finding, and it is this defect in all systems of industrial conciliation yet tried in the United Kingdom which has led to proposals on various sides for some legislative machinery for the compulsory settlement of disputes—which, as is here truly pointed out, is tantamount to the fixing of wages by law. The working classes are not more ready than the employers to resort to independent arbitration, though in the coal and iron industries it is not an uncommon thing, and it is significant that during a wages dispute in Lancashire in 1897 the operatives expressly declined arbitration on the curious ground that the umpires would probably decide against the men, as had been the case on a former occasion. The incident deserves to be added to the authors' list of "modern instances." (4) The method of legal enactment is another and still more fertile means by which British trade unions have sought to attain their ends, and never was the faith in the power of parliament—as distinct from its will—to promote industrial interests greater than at the present time. What has been achieved in this manner since the first acts for the regulation of industry were passed amid the execrations of the *laissez faire* party of that day Mr. and Mrs. Webb recount in a chapter of great immediate interest. (5) The standard rate of payment—"the



insistence of a payment according to some definite standard uniform in its application"—which is perhaps one of the most disputable of trade union methods, though from the standpoint of labor one of the most vital importance. (6) The normal day, in the fixing of which legislation has probably done more than private bargaining. (7) Sanitation and safety, as to which English legislation is only now being placed on a rational and logical basis. (8) New processes and machinery, and the extent to which trade unions claim a voice in their regulation. (9) Continuity of employment. (10) The conditions, attached by trade unions to entrance to certain trades, are likewise treated with fullness and judgment, and having thus completed their survey of the current regulations of British trade unionism the authors summarize the results in chapters on "The Implication," and "The Assumptions of Trade Unions." Incidentally they show how strong is the opposition of trade unionists to the "house" or "home" system of employment and in general to the "small master" system, under which work is almost invariably ill-remunerated and carried on amidst objectionable and often harmful sanitary conditions.

In the third part of the work, that on trade union theory, Mr. and Mrs. Webb deal with the attitude of scientific economists toward trade unions in the past, and it is no difficult task to prove that this attitude has been underlain by not a few misconceptions. It is "fighting battles o'er again" and "thrice to slay the slain," to demolish the old theory of the wages fund, which has done so much service for individualism in the past, but if the work had to be done the authors have done it well and thoroughly. The chapter on the subject is one of the ablest in the book and is full of original and suggestive observations, based on the authors' experience of industrial life and conditions as existing in the present day. Chapters on "The Higgling of the Market" and "The Economic Characteristics of Trade Unionism" lead up to the "moral" of the whole work, as contained in a concluding chapter on "Trade Unionism and Democracy."

Premising that, in sympathy with the democratic conformation of British society, trade unionists will find themselves compelled to "put forward a policy of which no part runs counter to the interests and ideals of the bulk of the people," the authors make the following prediction:

"The complete acceptance of democracy, with its acute consciousness of the interests of the community as a whole, and its insistence on equality of opportunity for all citizens, will necessitate a reconsideration by the trade unionists of their three doctrines—the

abandonment of one, the modification of another and the far-reaching extension and development of the third. To begin with the doctrine of vested interests, we may infer that, whatever respect may be paid to the 'established expectations' of any class, this will not be allowed to take the form of a resistance to inventions, or of any obstruction of improvements in industrial processes. Equitable consideration of the interests of existing workers will no doubt be more and more expected, and popular governments may even adopt Mill's suggestion of making some provision for operatives displaced by a new machine. . . . Coming now to the doctrine of supply and demand, we see that any attempt to better the strategic position of a particular section by the device of restriction of numbers will be unreservedly condemned. Not only is this device inconsistent with the democratic instinct in favor of opening up the widest possible opportunity for every citizen, but it is hostile to the welfare of the community as a whole, and especially to the manual workers, in that it tends to distribute the capital, brains and labor of the nation less productively than would otherwise be the case. . . .

It is accordingly on the side of the doctrine of a living wage that the present policy of trade unionism will require most extension. Democratic public opinion will expect each trade to use its strategic position to secure the conditions necessary for the fulfillment of its particular social function in the best possible way—to obtain, that is to say, not what will be immediately most enjoyed by the 'average sensual man,' but what, in the long run, will most conduce to his efficiency as a professional, a parent and a citizen."

It is their conviction that "this national minimum the public opinion of the democratic state will not only support, but positively insist on for the common weal. . . . It is accordingly upon the trade unions that the democratic state must mainly rely for the stimulus, expert counsel and persistent watchfulness without which a national minimum can neither be obtained nor enforced." Thus it follows that:

"Trade unionism is not merely an incident of the present phase of capitalist industry, but has a permanent function to fulfill in the democratic state. Should capitalism develop in the direction of gigantic trusts, the organization of the manual workers in each industry will be the only effective bulwark against social oppression. If, on the other hand, there should be a revival of the small master system, the enforcement of common rules will be more than ever needed to protect the community against industrial parasitism. And if, as we personally expect, democracy moves in the direction of superseding both the little profit-maker and the trust, by the

salaries officer of the co-operative society, the municipality and the government department, trade unionism would remain equally necessary. For even under the most complete collectivism, the directors of each particular industry would, as agents of the community of consumers, remain biased in favor of cheapening production, and could, as brainworkers, never be personally conscious of the conditions of the manual laborers."

The foregoing is but the merest outline of the contents and argument of a remarkable work, the preparation of which has entailed a vast expenditure of time and thought. The authors tell us, indeed, that they have devoted to the work no less than six years of investigation, during which they have "examined inside and out the constitution of practically every trade union organization, together with the methods and regulations which it uses to attain its ends." For such a work the systematic economist and the politician, not less than the practical man of commerce and industry, whether employer or workman, has need to be heartily grateful. This and the companion work already named constitute in themselves a very library upon the subject of trade union history, theory and practice, and Mr. and Mrs. Webb are to be congratulated on having brought to so successful an issue the task which they began some ten years ago, when first they entered this fertile and engrossing field of investigation.

Is the work written, as such a work should be, without tendency? On the whole yes, though it is not difficult to detect that the authors have certain very definite predilections. These, however, they repress so far as the presentment and application of facts are concerned, and the most decided opponent of trade unions will not find his patience very severely tried as he reads these pages. Not so the lover of literary decorum. Why the authors should so ostentatiously parade the spelling which is so much in vogue in publications emanating from the socialistic and industrial press, and from it alone, so far as England goes, it is hard to understand. It is a pity, too, that they should still persist in the use of that pet phrase of the socialistic economist "middle-class economy" (with all its variations), a phrase which has come down from Marx and Lassalle, but which is neither scientific nor accurate nor rational. The use of the phrase causes them to fall into more than one self-contradiction. "Down to within the last thirty years it would have been taken for granted by every *educated man* that trade unionism, as a means of bettering the condition of the workman, was against political economy." So we read on page 603, of Volume II. On page 610 we find the following: "And when the trade unionists turned from

the question of wages to-day to the possibility of raising them in the following year, *middle-class opinion* had a no less conclusive answer to their claims." Here the educated classes and the middle classes are taken as identical—with what justification let the reader reflect for himself. The fact is that the phrase "middle-class" (which is only a translation of Marx's "bourgeois") as applied to economic speculation is an entire misnomer and should be abandoned. In passing, too, such a phrase as "capitalist encroachment" (Vol. II, p. 514) smacks too much of the jargon of the street corner to be found in these serious pages.

W. H. DAWSON.

*Skipton, England.*

## NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

### AMERICAN CITIES.

**Greater New York.**—*Financial Condition.*\* In his message to the municipal assembly on January 3, Mayor Van Wyck charged the administration of the old city of New York with extravagance, and declared his belief that this had resulted in the city's having exceeded its constitutional debt limit, which is fixed at 10 per cent of the assessed real property valuation. Section 10 of Article VIII of the state constitution declares that "This section shall not be construed to prevent the issuing of certificates of indebtedness or revenue bonds issued in anticipation of the collection of taxes for amounts actually contained, or to be contained, in the taxes for the year when such certificates or revenue bonds are issued and payable out of such taxes." The same section contains provisions which have been interpreted to mean that the indebtedness of a county which is included in whole or in part in the territory of a city, as in the case of the Greater New York, shall not be reckoned as part of such city's indebtedness. Notwithstanding these provisions, the corporation counsel, John Whalen, rendered an opinion that certain of these obligations should be included; and, acting upon this opinion, the comptroller, Bird S. Coler, issued a statement that the old city of New York has exceeded its legal indebtedness by over \$24,000,000, and the new city by \$25,000,000 more. The authorities thereupon ordered work upon a large number of contracts stopped, and declined to allow work to begin on many more.

This statement of Comptroller Coler was criticised by former Comptroller Ashbel P. Fitch and others, who declared that the constitution had been misinterpreted for political purposes, particularly to prohibit the issuing of bonds for an underground system of rapid transit. Suits to determine the issue were threatened by interested property owners and contractors; and in the early part of April the corporation counsel and comptroller revised their figures by deducting nearly \$20,000,000 from the street and park opening bonds. This was followed by other deductions from time to time; and finally, on May 24, the corporation counsel rendered a final opinion that the old city had not reached its debt limit by over \$10,000,000, and the new city by a much larger sum. On June 7, following the opinion of the corpora-

\* Communication of George W. Miller, Esq., Assistant Secretary of the City Club.



tion counsel, the comptroller made a statement before the board of estimate and apportionment, showing that the city was well within its debt limit, and the board reauthorized the issue of \$21,000,000 of bonds for public works authorized by the administration of the old city, and an additional issue of several million dollars for improvements.

*Police.* Several months ago, rumors became current that Tammany Hall desired that Chief of Police McCullagh, a Republican, be retired by the bi-partisan police commission, to make room for a Tammany Democrat, in the interest of a more liberal interpretation of certain laws, to fulfill Tammany's ante-election pledges, or in order, in popular phrase, to "run the town wide open." To accomplish the retirement of Chief McCullagh required the unanimous vote of four police commissioners, or that three vote for retirement, to become operative upon confirmation by the mayor. The two Republican police commissioners, Messrs. Hamilton and Phillips, declined to retire McCullagh; and upon May 21 the mayor, acting under a provision of the charter allowing him to remove heads of departments without cause during the first six months of his term, removed Commissioners Hamilton and Phillips, and upon the same day appointed Jacob Hess in place of one of the Republicans removed. The board, then consisting of two Democrats and one Republican, voted to retire Chief McCullagh, which action was immediately ratified by the mayor. In the meantime, the old police board had by successive steps advanced Police Captain William F. Devery, a Tammany Democrat, from inspector to deputy chief; and the new board promoted him to be chief of police of the Greater New York in place of Mr. McCullagh.

In 1893, Captain Devery was twice called upon by Dr. Parkhurst's society to suppress disorderly houses in his precinct. Captain Devery denied the existence of such houses. The society then proceeded individually against the keepers of the houses complained of, and secured the conviction of many of them. The grand jury then found four indictments against Captain Devery for neglect of duty; but upon trial the jury failed to convict. This case largely caused the appointment of the Lexow Police Investigating Committee, before which damaging testimony was given against Devery. The police commissioners then in power thereupon tried Devery, and by a vote of three to one he was convicted and dismissed from the force. Later, the appellate division of the Supreme Court ordered his re-instatement upon the ground that his constitutional rights had been neglected in his trial before the commissioners. In 1896, the new police board, of which Theodore Roosevelt was president, was unable, owing to legal technicalities, to reopen the case against Devery. He was assigned to an

unimportant uptown district, and remained there until the Tammany administration of 1898, when he was rapidly promoted to be chief.

After the removal of Messrs. Hamilton and Phillips, the Republican machine organization undertook to start a movement to have Mayor Van Wyck removed upon charges, by the governor, for his part in the retirement of Chief McCullagh, but the effort met with no success, as it is believed that the mayor was within his legal powers in the matter. A special session of the legislature is suggested by the Republicans, to amend the bi-partisan police law and to take all control of elections away from the police board as a partial remedy.

*Primary Elections.* Primary elections, under the new primary law, Chapter 179, laws of 1898, were held throughout the Greater New York on June 7. This law was said to be designed to allow greater freedom in primary voting among independent Republicans who professed to believe in the national and state policy of the Republican party, and incorporated many of the safeguards of the so-called ballot reform law in the primary law. Few contests were made by the independent Republicans in the district organizations; and the result in the Republican party was a victory for the machine men in thirty out of thirty-five districts in the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx. In Brooklyn, the Worth faction and the regular Republican machine practically joined forces. In both the Platt and Tammany machines, the old chairmen, or "leaders," of districts were nearly all re-elected.

*Public Education Budget.* The board of estimate and apportionment on May 9 formally passed upon the amounts to be allowed to the Greater New York for educational purposes. The amounts for the various boroughs are: Manhattan and the Bronx, \$6,959,910.23; Brooklyn, \$3,614,628.00; Queens, \$690,424.98; Richmond, \$366,847.21—a total of \$11,591,810.42, or about \$1,860,000 more than the sums allowed for the same territory in 1897. These amounts do not include the expenses of the general board of education, the College of the City of New York, the Normal School, or the Nautical School. The approximate per capita cost of education in the different boroughs for 1898 will be: Manhattan and Bronx, \$33.93; Brooklyn, \$29.48; Queens, \$26.49; Richmond, \$32.57.

*Rapid Transit.* The rapid transit question at present seems to have developed into a squabble between the rapid transit commissioners and the elevated railway companies as to the terms under which the elevated railways shall be allowed to construct parallel railways and connecting links, under seven additional franchises offered to the elevated railways by the rapid transit commission. The political troubles between the commissioners and the city administration continues. The mayor has declined to serve upon a sub-committee of

the rapid transit commission appointed to decide upon compensation to be paid by the elevated railways for these additional franchises.

*Brooklyn Bribery Cases.* In the latter part of March, indictments were found by the Kings County (Brooklyn) grand jury for conspiracy to defraud, bribery, passing false accounts, and falsely certifying to work done, against the following officials of the old city of Brooklyn under the administration of Mayor Wurster, which came to an end in December, 1897: Theodore B. Willis, city works commissioner; Robert W. Fielding, deputy commissioner; Joseph R. Clark, president of the board of aldermen; William Leacraft, alderman; William Milne, inspector in the city works department; Oscar Knapp, water purveyor; William H. Goff, superintendent of sewers; A. L. Jensen, warrant clerk; and William E. Phillips, a prominent politician related to Commissioner Willis, and until recently one of the four bi-partisan police commissioners of the Greater New York. All of these officials were machine Republicans. These indictments grew out of an investigation by Comptroller Coler, which showed that the law requiring that all contracts for public work for amounts of two thousand dollars or more should be publicly let had been violated by the indicted officials, by the old political trick of dividing large amounts of work into small contracts, and granting these contracts privately to favored politicians. A sample case was that of a sum of \$72,906.14 expended for grading streets and covering water mains during October, November and December, 1897, the contracts for which were granted to three or four contractors in amounts between \$1,900 and \$2,000. Trials of the indicted officials are now in progress; and Deputy Commissioner Fielding has already been convicted and sentenced to six months imprisonment and to pay a large fine.

*Mayor's Message.* The first message of the new mayor of Greater New York to the municipal assembly gives evidence of the unsettled condition of the government of the city, under the new charter. The mayor seems to be at sea as to the actual state of the city's indebtedness. According to his estimate, based upon the comptroller's reports, the total assessed valuation of real estate in Greater New York is \$2,464,763,192, and the net funded indebtedness \$227,453,529.11. This leaves an apparent margin within the constitutional limit of a further indebtedness of about \$19,000,000.

In speaking of the organization of the new municipal departments the mayor comments upon the friction inevitable to reorganization of city government. He feels confident, however, that all such shortcomings will be remedied as soon as the newly appointed officials become more closely conversant with their duties. In commenting on the plan for improved transit facilities the mayor strongly favors

the extension of the elevated railway system. Under the recent decision of the New York Supreme Court it will be impossible to construct a rapid transit system without exceeding the constitutional limit of indebtedness. The mayor regrets that the patience, protests and the demands of the people for better transit facilities have been answered with nothing better than a multiplicity of plans. Throughout the message there is manifest a spirit of antagonism to the commissions that exercised authority under the administration of his predecessor.

**Philadelphia.**—*Mayor's Message.* The most important portion of the Third Annual Message of the mayor for the year ending December 31, 1897, relates to the water supply of the city. The imperative necessity of an improvement in the water supply is attested by the appalling disease and death-rate directly traceable to the present source of supply. The mayor strongly recommends the appropriation of a sufficient amount to establish a thorough system of filtration. He intimates that this improvement should be made by the municipality, especially as the cost will not be beyond the financial resources of the city. It is expected that \$3,700,000 will cover all necessary improvements. This is a comparatively insignificant expenditure when it is remembered that the water works yield a large surplus each year. Thus in 1897 the total receipts of the water bureau were \$2,971,357.52 and the expenditures during the year for permanent improvements and the cost of maintenance were \$1,665,153.21. Thus the excess of receipts over expenditures in the annual revenue of this branch of the city service was \$1,306,204.31. If a system of filtration is established it is probable that some measures will be necessary to prevent the inordinate waste of water which is going on at the present time. During the last ten years the consumption per capita per day has increased from eighty-nine to one hundred and eighty-seven gallons. There is no doubt that a plentiful supply of water is a matter of great importance to the health and welfare of the city, but it is equally true that the consumption of one hundred and eighty-seven gallons per capita per day is beyond all reasonable limits. One change which will probably remedy the most flagrant abuses will be to place water meters in all manufacturing establishments, and it is probable that, in time, the water meter system will be introduced throughout the city to check this useless waste.

**Massachusetts.**—*Report of the Board of Gas and Electric Light Commissioners.* The Thirteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Gas and Electric Light Commissioners for the year 1897 gives an interesting account of the condition of that industry throughout the state. This board has now under its supervision one hundred and

thirty-four companies and the gas or electric plants of thirteen towns and two cities. The commission exercises a very careful and close control over the financial operations of all companies. No change of organization, of capital stock, of indebtedness can be made without first obtaining the consent of the commission. Furthermore, the commission has power to remedy any shortcomings in the service of such companies. Its work has been particularly valuable in preventing the watering of stock and over-capitalization which has been such a serious handicap in the exercise of public control over private corporations. One of the most suggestive portions of the report is the description of the movement toward municipal ownership, which seems to have taken a strong hold of the towns and cities of the state. The following table shows the extent to which municipal ownership and operation has proceeded up to December 31, 1897:—

<i>Municipality.</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>Year of Beginning.</i>	<i>Kind of Supply.</i>	<i>Investment.</i>	<i>Value of Estates.</i>	<i>Tax Rate.</i>
Braintree . . .	5,311	{ Streets '92. Commercial '94 }	Elec. Light.	\$ 60,458	\$ 4,453,825	\$18 30
Chicopee . . .	16,420	1896	Elec. Light.	89,500	9,199,470	17 20
Danvers . . .	5,181	{ Streets '89 Commercial '96 }	Elec. Light.	35,126	6,962,162	18 00
Hingham . . .	4,819	1896	Elec. Light.	{ 23,360 23,660 }	4,033,912	19 10
Hudson . . .	5,308	1897	Elec. Light.	22,836	2,908,750	19 75
Hull . . .	1,044	1894	Elec. Light.	111,965	3,874,215	17 90
Marblehead . . .	7,671	1895	Elec. Light.	81,017	5,555,425	16 80
Middleborough . . .	6,689	1893	Gas & Elec.	103,108	3,347,420	22 10
Needham . . .	3,511	1893	El. St. Light.	14,020	3,194,586	15 80
N. Attleborough . . .	6,576	1894	Elec. Light.	56,519	3,840,198	23 00
Peabody . . .	10,507	{ Streets '92. Commercial '92 }	Elec. Light.	72,066	7,768,750	16 80
Reading . . .	4,717	1895	Elec. Light.	67,500	4,143,081	18 00
Wakefield . . .	6,304	1894	Gas & Elec.	179,000	6,313,820	17 40
Wellesley . . .	4,229	1892	El. St. Light.	17,000	7,194,585	11 60

This is not, however, the only indication of the movement of sentiment towards municipal ownership. Some 208 towns and cities are considering the question of municipal gas and electric lighting and it is to be expected that within the next five or ten years a large number of municipalities will join the list of those who are now supplying gas and electric light for both public and private purposes.

**Boston.**—*Department of Municipal Statistics.* The Board of Municipal Statistics organized by the city of Boston under ordinance of February 27, 1897, has directed its first efforts toward a more scientific classification of municipal revenue and expenditure. In fact, in its First Annual Report, which has just been published, the board addresses itself to the larger problem of reorganizing the system of municipal



accounting. The lack of uniformity in the system of financial classification in the various city departments, together with the failure to co-ordinate related departments in their method of financing, has made it quite impossible to determine accurately the financial condition of the city. The board is extremely anxious to introduce greater unity into the method of keeping accounts. As is clearly pointed out in one portion of the report, "one of the fundamental defects, not only in our municipal reports, but in public discussion of municipal finance, is the failure to distinguish between income from money borrowed and from taxation and between money spent for current expenses and for permanent improvements. Few statistics of value on this subject exist in this country, and but little notice is practically taken of the difference. Yet in the management of private business or large corporations, a nice judgment of this question is the very essence of success; no one fact so readily affects the credit and standing of an individual or a corporation as do judgment and habits regarding this single point. From the standpoint of true economics, money raised by taxation is income and money spent for current expenses is an outgo, while with borrowed money the process is reversed—money borrowed becoming a charge and money spent on the plant becoming an asset. There is consequently a vital error in classing money borrowed and taxes together as income, and in classing current expenses and additions to plant together as expenditure."

The board suggests that city expenditures be examined with reference to some uniform classification of city functions. As a tentative scheme the following plan is proposed:

#### I. CENTRAL ORGANIZATION, INCLUDING

- |                       |                    |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Town or City Hall. | 4. Treasurer.      |
| 2. Executive head.    | 5. Clerk.          |
| 3. Legislative head.  | 6. Law department. |

#### II. PUBLIC SAFETY.

- |                         |                               |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Militia.             | 5. Inspection of buildings.   |
| 2. Police or watch.     | 6. Fire patrol.               |
| 3. Lighting of streets. | 7. Penal institutions (jail). |
| 4. Petty courts.        |                               |

#### III. PUBLIC HEALTH.

- |                     |                        |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Health officers. | 5. Removal of garbage. |
| 2. Quarantine.      | 6. Drainage.           |
| 3. Cemeteries.      | 7. Hospitals.          |
| 4. Street cleaning. |                        |

#### IV. PUBLIC EDUCATION.

- |             |              |
|-------------|--------------|
| 1. Schools. | 2. Libraries |
|-------------|--------------|

## V. PUBLIC CONVENIENCE.

- |                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. Maintenance of streets. | 7. Weights and measures.               |
| 2. " " bridges.            | 8. Regulation by license or inspection |
| 3. " " ferries.            | a. of liquor traffic.                  |
| 4. Water supply.           | b. of other trades.                    |
| 5. Markets.                |  |
| 6. Dock facilities.        |  |

## VI. PUBLIC CHARITIES.

- |                 |                        |
|-----------------|------------------------|
| 1. Poor relief. | 3. Other institutions. |
| 2. Almshouse.   |                        |

## VII. PUBLIC RECREATION.

- |                 |                  |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. Parks.       | 4. Music.        |
| 2. Playgrounds. | 5. Celebrations. |
| 3. Baths.       |                  |

Another publication of the same department contains the statistics of municipal appropriations and actual expenditures of the ordinary revenue for the five years 1892 to 1897 inclusive. It is the purpose of the board to publish a series which will furnish a detailed statement of municipal revenue and expenditure during recent years. As a result of the material thus presented it will be possible to form an accurate estimate of the financial condition of the city of Boston. Judging from the activity of the new board during the first nine months of its existence, there is every reason to believe that it will soon become one of the most useful branches of the city government.

*Musical Commission.\** The two latest additions to the very considerable list of unpaid commissions and boards in charge of various branches of the city work are going to work energetically. The Musical Commission is the latest of these bodies. It was established to take charge of the music furnished by the city for free public entertainment. It is composed of five members, all musical experts. Carl Zerrahn is chairman, John A. O'Shea, Jr., vice-chairman, and J. Thomas Baldwin, secretary. A municipal band has been organized, with E. N. Catlin as leader, and numerous open-air concerts will be given through the summer in the public parks and elsewhere in all sections of the city. A considerable economy in cost of public music is looked for, and also a marked improvement in the character and quality of the music. It is suggested that the band be also employed through the winter in giving free indoor concerts in various public halls. Something like thirty years ago the city gave a series of free concerts in Music Hall. They were very popular, but the undertaking was abandoned on the ground that the city had no right to enter upon such activities.

\* Communication of Sylvester Baxter, Esq., Malden, Mass.

*Baths Commission.* The new Baths Commission has taken charge of all the public baths lately in charge of the Board of Health and the Park Commission. A new model bath-house has been built and others are projected. A new beach-bath has been established on Mystic River at the Charlestown Heights pleasure ground. With one exception, the wearing of proper bathing-suits at all public baths by men, women and children, and boys over fifteen years old, has been ordered. This is an innovation at the various floating-baths for men and boys, and seems hardly necessary. The exception is the celebrated and immensely popular L-street beach-bath for men and boys on Dorchester Bay, South Boston. This is the oldest municipal public bath in the country. Here nude bathing has always been the rule and will continue. An illustration of the picturesque scene at this bath was a feature of *Scribner's Magazine* for June. The commission will make a charge of one cent for use of towels at all the baths, and bathing suits will be sold at cost price. For this purpose, 300 bathing suits and 200 dozen trunks for men and boys have been ordered, together with 6000 crash towels. All employees at the baths are to be uniformed. Swimming lessons are to be given as a part of the public school course in physical training.

*Park Boating Service.* The Boston Parks Boat-Service Company has been organized to carry on the boating in the waters of the public parks. It has a large number of canoes, rowboats and sailboats, together with steamboats, electric and other motor launches, let at reasonable rates, under regulations of the park department. The company has been given a concession for three years, for which it pays \$1000 a year. The city has leased, at a nominal rental, sites for club houses to various yacht clubs at Marine Park, the greatest yachting rendezvous in America.

*Buffalo.—Public School Investigation.* The visiting committee of the Buffalo School Association, which was appointed in June, 1896, has published the results of its inquiry into the sanitary condition of the city's schools. The results are in many respects startling, proving the existence of conditions unworthy of a progressive community. When we remember that nearly half the day of the average child is spent in the school, the question of the environment, as a purely educative factor, becomes of tremendous importance. One of the greatest evils to which the committee directs attention is the overcrowded condition of most of the school buildings. More than one-half of the schools are using rooms as classrooms that were never intended for that purpose. Basements, attics and localities, defective in ventilation and other sanitary requirements, are filled with large classes. Furthermore, in many

of the schools there is not only a lack of schoolrooms, but of seats as well. In eighteen of the schools there are more pupils than desks, requiring two children to sit at a single desk. The majority of schoolrooms fail to furnish their occupants with the proper cubic air space. The "annexes" are in a far worse condition. They are for the most part rented buildings, never designed for school purposes and lacking in every sanitary requirement. The committee furthermore found a most disgraceful condition existing in the dressing-rooms, lavatories, etc. It is safe to say that this report, which has been widely circulated, will do much to awaken public opinion to a sense of the danger of such conditions to the future health and welfare of the community.

*Mayor's Message.* The annual message of the mayor devotes considerable space to the relation of the city to the corporations performing quasi-public services. The recent agreement of the gas companies and the manipulation of franchise privileges which accompanied this change has aroused in the population a strong feeling of discontent. The mayor recommends that an investigation into the operations of the gas company be made and that if no satisfactory understanding can be reached the provision of the charter of the city which authorizes the purchase, construction, maintenance and regulation of works to provide the city and its inhabitants with light be made effective. The mayor recommends, furthermore, that application be made to the legislature to authorize the city to issue bonds for the construction of a lighting plant.

*Illinois.—Street Railway Franchise.* The Ninth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics contains an exhaustive discussion of the street railway franchises of the city of Chicago, of the gas companies operating in that city and an analysis of the Report of the Tax Commission appointed in 1896 by the Hon. George B. Swift, then mayor of Chicago. Unfortunately for some reason or other the report has been badly cut up, omissions are frequent and at times destroy the continuity of the discussion. The reason assigned by the present head of the bureau, Mr. David Ross, is that the report was limited in volume by the secretary of state to 300 pages. This is hardly an excuse for cutting out important chapters and printing others in such a way as to destroy their internal relation to other portions of the report. It is charged that the reasons for these changes have been purely political.

The report contains a great mass of valuable material, particularly chapters on street railway franchises, which we understand were prepared by Professor E. W. Bemis. After presenting a general discussion of the relation of the modern municipality to public services, such as

the street railway, gas, etc., and after making a comparison between the administrative organization of American and European cities, the report enters upon an examination of the development of the street railway business in Chicago since 1856, the date at which street railways were first introduced. The history of the growth of the street railway system, especially the changes of the last ten years, offers an example of changes in method of operation which have been almost revolutionary. This remarkable growth of the street railway system, together with the absence of all public control, have furnished the opportunity to speculators to manipulate the various roads through skilful financiering in such a way as to lead to enormous over-capitalization. The report clearly shows that the present cost of duplication is about one-half of the capitalization of the roads, and about one-third their approximate market value. The per mile capitalization of the three great railway corporations of Chicago is as follows:

Chicago Street Railway . . . . .	\$50,216
West Chicago Street Railroad . . . . .	149,501
North Chicago Street Railroad . . . . .	146,346
Average . . . . .	126,460

The capitalization of the Massachusetts street railways is \$46,600. It is evident that the high capitalization of the Chicago roads is due largely to the fact that the stock has been watered on a very large scale. At the present time, however, this stock has to a considerable extent passed into the hands of innocent third parties. The city, therefore, finds itself handicapped, inasmuch as it is prevented by both the national and state constitutions from destroying vested interests. Even if it were possible to reduce the capitalization, it is more than probable that the persons most injured would be the innocent purchasers of street railway stock.

The emphasis of the evils consequent upon the absence of public control over corporations is a real service at the present time. The author of the report, however, has failed to give to the promoters of street railway combinations due credit for the great improvements which they have introduced. There is no doubt that the consolidation of the street railway lines has been the means of making possible improvements on a very large scale. This is an advantage which should not be readily lost sight of. It is true that these promoters have not had any direct interest in any public service they were performing. As a matter of fact the business interests of these great corporations have led them to develop a street railway service which stands far above anything that European cities can at the present time offer. While such improvement has been made at great cost to the community, and while the public treasury of our municipalities suffer



because of the failure to safeguard the financial interests of the city, it cannot be denied that our citizens are enjoying the advantages of rapid transit and that each year brings with it some new addition to the facilities enjoyed.

The report on gas companies of Chicago, previous to 1885, is a monograph which is full of the most valuable data on the history of this important class of public service corporations. This portion of the report has been inserted out of its natural position, as it requires some transposition of the material on the part of the reader in order to fully realize the wealth of the material presented. This, however, has been no fault of the author, but has been due to the carelessness or design of those in charge of the publication of the report.

The importance of this publication, the great industry with which the facts have been collected and the ability with which they have been presented, make it extremely desirable that the report be reprinted in the form in which it was originally presented. The manuscript as originally compiled contained the following chapters:

SUBJECT: FRANCHISES AND TAXATION.

CONTENTS—PART I.—*Franchises.*

- Chapter I.—Monopolies, Old and New.
- Chapter II.—Street Railways.
- Chapter III.—A Four-Cent Fare.
- Chapter IV.—Gas.
- Chapter V.—Internal Monopoly Bills.
- Chapter VI.—The Telephone.
- Chapter VII.—Appendices.

PART II.—*Taxation.*

- Chapter I.—Report of Mayor Swift's Commission.
- Chapter II.—Explanatory Statement of the Eighth Biennial Report of the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In the report as printed Chapters III, V and part of Chapter VII have been omitted; and the order of the other chapters changed.

FOREIGN CITIES.

**Berlin.—Elections.** The recently published statistics of local elections throw an interesting side-light on the Prussian electoral system. Up to the present time the government has been able to resist the demands for universal suffrage. In Prussian municipal elections the three-class electoral system is still maintained, which gives to the wealthier classes a preponderant influence in local affairs. In the elections for members of the municipal council the population is divided into three classes, on the basis of state and local direct taxes. Those paying the highest tax rate up to one-third of the total sum constitute the electors of the first class; the

next highest rate, whose combined taxes constitute a third of the total direct taxation, constitute the second class; and the remaining taxpayers are grouped in the third class of electors. Under a recent registration it was found that in the city of Berlin there were 298,978 electors, classified as follows:

Electors of the First Class . . . . .	1,486
" " " Second " . . . . .	9,432
" " " Third " . . . . .	288,060

The electors of the first class include those who paid a minimum of \$973 direct taxes. All those paying between \$195 and \$973 constitute the electors of the second class; and all others paying direct taxes being included in the third class. It will be seen from these figures that one-thirtieth of the total electoral body elects two-thirds of the municipal council, for, under the Prussian Municipal Corporations Act, each electoral class elects one-third of the council.

*Gas Works.* The report of the Berlin gas works for the year 1895-96 shows a remarkable increase in the consumption of gas, particularly for heating and cooking purposes. A reduction of 16 $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent in the price of gas for other than illuminating purposes immediately caused an increase of 35 per cent in the consumption for such purposes. The increased consumption necessitated considerable extensions in the city works, which have now reached a high stage of efficiency.

*The Municipal Savings Bank.* This institution, at the end of March, 1896, reports a total of more than forty-four million dollars and a reserve fund of nearly three million dollars. The total payments for the year 1895-96 amount to a little over ten million dollars. At the present time the number of outstanding savings bank books is 543,079.

*Street Railways.* For some time past the city has been negotiating with the street railway companies for the substitution of electricity for horse power. At the present time a number of overhead and underground trolley lines have been introduced. In July, 1895, the city entered into a contract with a private corporation for the construction of an electric elevated road. The street railway companies are unwilling to make any considerable changes in their present system, owing to the fact that their franchises will expire in a short time, the lines then reverting to the city, with option to purchase rolling stock. It is probable that no radical changes will be made unless the city agrees to renew the franchises for a long period. If this is not done, the change will not be made until the city becomes full possessor of the street railway lines.

## SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

**Proposed Changes in Massachusetts Poor Laws.\***—The State Board of Lunacy and Charity in Massachusetts in its Nineteenth Annual Report† recommends that the care of all indigent and neglected children be entrusted to the state, irrespective of the question of their (city or town) settlement. As a matter of fact the majority of pauper children are now state charges. The exceptions are cases due to loss of parents or to parents' poverty where the settlement of parents is known. It is certain that the minority looked after by overseers of the poor will be much more wisely cared for if they are transferred. It is interesting, by the way, to note that the relative percentages of children under state care who are in institutions, self-supporting in families or at board in families remains about the same as in 1896. The percentages for the last three years are significant:

	1895.	1896.	1897.
In Institutions . . . . .	16	16	15
In Families (without board) . . . . .	56	55	55
In Families (with board) . . . . .	28	29	30

It would thus appear that the necessary use of institutions has been minimized about as far as it can be under present conditions. Of course it must be remembered that juvenile delinquents, who must in nearly all cases be given at least a short training in institutions before being placed out or returned to their families, are included in this 15 per cent.

The board also recommends that the city and town pauper insane be transferred to state institutions and state control. At present these unfortunates may be boarded at town expense in the state asylums, but the overseers may, if they chose, board them in families or keep them in city and town almshouses. Thus in 1897, there were 907 in the almshouses. The boarding in families is coming to be recognized as a very good way of dealing with certain classes of insane. But it is doubtful if the overseers have sufficient scientific knowledge to exercise a wise control in this matter, and certainly the use of almshouses for confinement is an unmixed evil. The fact that a reform of this sort has come so late in so progressive a state as Massachusetts is probably another bit of evidence of the survival of the old New England town idea.

\* Contributed by Mr. F. H. McLean, Fellow in Sociology, University of Pennsylvania.

† 1897. Boston. Pp. 229, lxxxii.

For those interested in laws of settlement the following will be of moment: The board recommends that the statutes be so amended that any adult living in any place in the state for three consecutive years shall gain a settlement; that legitimate children shall follow the settlement of their parents and that all persons absent from the state for ten consecutive years shall thereby lose their settlements.

**Abuses in New York Charities.\***—In its report for the year 1897, lately transmitted to the legislature, the State Board of Charities gives credence to a statement which has been going the rounds for some time to the effect that probably nearly 50 per cent of the population of New York City obtain practically free medical treatment. The volume of work carried on by dispensaries is indicated in figures like these: "In the borough of Manhattan there are 66 or more dispensaries and from 57 of these the board has received reports for the past year. These reports show 1,043,428 cases treated and 1,674,280 prescriptions furnished, an average of 18,305 cases and 29,373 prescriptions to each dispensary." The reason why the board cannot definitely fix the number of dispensaries is because some of them are not incorporated and do not therefore come to the notice of the board. The board is still continuing its efforts for legislation which will give it control over dispensaries throughout the state. Till then, gross abuse of medical charities will probably continue.

Apparently there is also a considerable overgrowth of institutions for children, for the board states that there are now probably 4000 vacant beds in such institutions within New York City. Of course money for the establishment of juvenile institutions can probably be obtained with greater ease than for many other charities. But the waste indicated in the above figures is certainly a striking one when it is remembered that there is a dearth of homes for the aged in the same city.

The board's control does not extend beyond incorporated charities or those applying for incorporation. It has begun to recognize that some charities who do not come into this category are carrying on unwise work. Therefore it has very pertinently asked the question: "Should unincorporated charities be permitted to exist?" The report thus argues: "Charitable organizations voluntarily seek to perform a quasi-public service when they undertake to relieve the poor and when their work is wisely planned and properly directed, they are frequently capable of doing much good. If the contrary

\*Contributed by Mr. F. H. McLean, Fellow in Sociology, University of Pennsylvania.

be true, however, as often proves to be the case, their efforts commonly serve to aggravate and increase the very evils they are intended to alleviate, thus adding to the burden of taxation which falls upon the industrious, and lowering the character of the state's citizenship. Obviously under these circumstances the state is directly interested to a very marked extent and possesses the power and the right to seek out and apply reasonable and adequate remedies."

But perhaps the worst abuses which the board has discovered during the year are those connected with the placing out of children—abuses which have induced it to champion a bill making it unlawful for either public or private corporations, institutions or societies or private persons "to place out in families or in private or other homes in this state, or elsewhere from this state, by indenture or otherwise, any orphan, abandoned or destitute child, except such child be so placed out in accordance with rules and regulations to be established by the State Board of Charities." A special committee of the board made an investigation of the subject during the year and from the testimony adduced it appears that not only are a number of well-meaning philanthropic societies engaging in the work with more or less intelligence and care, but there are also some individuals who are conducting it as a pure matter of business. The latter take the children from those responsible for their care for a money consideration, and of course do not care particularly where they place them. It is apparent how under such conditions, gross abuses will rise. If the board does not obtain full control of the matter, by adequate legislation, it is probable that this system of caring for pauper children in New York will be greatly discredited by the discovery and public revelation of bad cases of cruelty, neglect and immorality.

At the time of this writing a compromise bill has been finally passed, and is awaiting the veto or approval of the governor. It provides for the general regulating of placing out. In general, it decrees that individuals, incorporated societies and *non-charitable* incorporated societies engaged in this work must be licensed by the State Board of Charities, and that *incorporated charitable* societies who abuse their privileges may be prohibited further activity in this direction, such prohibition being subject to review by the Supreme Court. The bill regulating dispensaries was finally buried in an assembly committee.

**The Development of the Poor Law in England since 1885.**—Under this title Dr. P. F. Aschrott, the author of that excellent and widely used book entitled "The English Poor Law System," has



recently published in Schmoller's *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung*\* a review of the discussion and legislation on this subject in England during the past ten years. Probably no period in the history of the English Poor Law has been more fruitful of active and far-reaching discussion on this subject, certainly not since the two decades preceding the adoption of the law of 1834. Dr. Aschrott occupies a high position in the administrative system of Germany as *Landgerichtsrat* in Berlin. He has, moreover, spent considerable time in England studying not merely the details of the English administrative system, but also its social conditions, and his opinion of the significance of recent changes, especially the changes in the attitude of the general public toward the poor law in England, is therefore of interest to many persons. Naturally, his monograph is intended chiefly to inform his own countrymen of the conditions in England with a view to suggesting their bearing upon German conditions. He begins with some account of the way in which the fundamental principle of English poor law, as laid down in the fundamental law of 1834, has been attacked on all sides, especially by socialists and collectivists in recent years, and he views with evident satisfaction the result, namely, that although several commissions have investigated the matter and have printed long and valuable documentary testimony, the results as embodied in legislation have merely remedied evils connected with the administration of the older laws and have not in any way modified the fundamental principle of the English poor law. He calls particular attention to the way in which special demands for relief, particularly those arising from periods when non-employment was more general than usual, were met by such temporary facilities as the Mansion House Relief Fund. He finds that this distribution of relief, as is usually the experience elsewhere in similar cases, was very poorly executed and did very considerable harm. He also calls attention to the fact that after careful consideration of the Elberfeld system in the various cities of Germany that the local government board decided that the results did not justify any general introduction of such a system into England. Many of the important points brought out in the report of the Poor Relief Commission of 1888† and in the report of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor‡ constitute an invaluable source of information for all students not merely of poor relief questions, but also of existing social conditions in England.

Speaking in general of the results of the recent agitation and of

\* Reprinted in pamphlet form. Pp. 68. Leipzig: Duncker & Humboldt, 1898.

† Parliamentary Papers, 1888, No. 363.

‡ Ibid, 1895, No. 7684.

the changes introduced in consequence, Dr. Aschrott considers a most important gain to have been the enlarged work which women are permitted to do in connection with the administration of the poor law. They are not only now permitted to vote for poor relief officers, but are eligible for election to most of the local boards and also to appointment as relief officers.

In the second part of his monograph, Dr. Aschrott has discussed at some length the minor administrative changes of recent years, grouping them under the following heads: (1) The workhouse principle and outdoor relief; (2) administration of workhouses; (3) provision for poor children; (4) provision for the sick poor; (5) the casual poor. These divisions correspond with divisions in the author's larger book and will enable those who use that work, either in the original German edition or in the English translation, to have the material brought down to date. In the third and closing section, some half dozen pages are devoted to recent statistics of various kinds of poor relief in England and some little discussion of the fundamental aspects of the present laws.

**Improved Housing.**—The Board of Directors of the City and Suburban Homes Company in New York City presented its Second Annual Report on May 5, 1898, in which it shows a very considerable activity and a generally prosperous condition in the affairs of the company. Five per cent interest was paid to shareholders on March 1 upon instalments on account of subscription to the capital stock. Of the total amount of stock allotted in January, 1897, five thousand shares of the par value of \$10 each were reserved for the benefit of persons who might desire them but who had not previously subscribed. This was done with a view to extending the number of stockholders and thus interesting a wider public in the affairs of the company. Of this amount of reserve stock, all but 193 shares have been recently allotted. The company also proposes to increase its capital stock to \$2,000,000 and this amount was approved at a meeting held on April 25. The first block of homes constructed by the company are known as the "Alfred Corning Clark Buildings," and cover nineteen city lots on West Sixty-eighth and Sixty-ninth streets between Amsterdam and West End avenues New York City. This site is on the outskirts of the tenement region of the upper west side. It commands good transportation facilities and is within six blocks of the most densely crowded tenement block in the whole city. The following statement will give some idea of the arrangement of these buildings and of the methods adopted in their management:

"The buildings contain in all three hundred and seventy-three

apartments, four stores and an office. Seventy-four apartments are of two rooms, two hundred and thirty-six of three rooms, sixty-one of four rooms and two of five rooms. Every apartment is a complete home in itself, has an abundance of light and air, with thorough ventilation, and with partitions between the different dwellings deafened. Each apartment has its own water-closet, well ventilated and with water supply from tank; stationary wash-tubs and sink of large size; hot water supply from a central boiler system; gas fixtures and gas attachment to stove or range; closets or wardrobes and dresser, and mantel shelves. Dust chutes have been placed on each floor; a number of spray baths, free for the use of tenants, on the first story; and in the basement, laundries with set tubs to which hot and cold water are supplied, and steam-heated drying chambers, also free for tenants, and wood and coal closet and storage-rooms. Staircases and stair walls are entirely fire-proof, as are likewise the walls of the first story and the dividing walls between each group of apartments. Halls and stairways are well lighted and steam-heated.

"The best sanitary principles have been considered in the construction of these city homes. The use of good materials; a perfect system of drainage; abundance of light, air and water; avoidance of dark rooms and passages; wide, clean and airy halls and stairways, make them healthy, comfortable and desirable for families who wish to live privately and respectably at moderate rents.

"The comfort and welfare of tenants are sought by providing a thoroughly competent management. It is believed that the disagreeable features of ordinary tenement life will through this means be avoided. A few general rules have been established for the good of all. Applicants for apartments must furnish at least two satisfactory references, as well as evidence that they have been accustomed to pay rents regularly.

"This group is divided into nine buildings. One of the buildings, comprising about forty apartments, was thrown open for occupancy on February 15 last; another, about March 1; another about March 15; two more about April 1, and the remainder about April 10. The builders did not fully complete their work until April 23. On April 30, two hundred and seventy of the three hundred and seventy-three apartments and three stores had been let—a remarkable showing considering that the tenants are selected under strict rules as to reference and previous rent paying, enjoined by the management. The total possible rental of occupied apartments up to April 30 last was \$3638.66, and of this amount \$3625.16 was paid, leaving but \$13.50 of arrears. Of this latter sum, \$3 were

irrecoverable arrears, the balance, \$10.50, representing simply a failure to pay in advance. Rents are collected weekly, in advance, collection being made in the apartments by a woman rent-collector and her assistant. Up to April 30, there had been four changes of tenancy; one was brought about by the death of the tenant's wife, another by removal from the city, a third by a notice to quit and the fourth by voluntary removal. All of the apartments were immediately re-let.

"The rentals charged are less per square foot than are asked, but without the same conveniences and sanitary advantages, in the adjoining neighborhood, and slightly lower than the rates obtaining on Amsterdam avenue in the immediate vicinity. The two-room and five-room apartments are fully let, and a waiting list is on file. All but ten of the four-room apartments have been rented. Ninety-three of the one hundred and three unoccupied apartments are of three rooms, but this is not remarkable, considering the very large proportion of this size. Applications are being steadily received, and undoubtedly in a short space of time the buildings will be full.

"The expenses of management have not exceeded original calculations, so that when apartments are fully occupied, the returns will be sufficient to pay a five per cent dividend upon the capital cost and to provide a safe surplus."

A suburban colony of homes is being developed on the vast estate known as Homewood in the Thirtieth ward of the borough of Brooklyn. Here a tract comprising five hundred and thirty city lots is owned, and the following statement from the report gives an idea of the nature and extent of the work planned for and partially constructed in that section:

"A survey has been made, streets and an avenue cut through and graded, and sewers, water and gas fully laid. The work of macadamizing the streets, laying gutters, curbs and sidewalks, and planting trees and hedges, is now proceeding. When completed, Homewood will be an ideal suburban village.

"Homewood enjoys excellent transportation facilities, two lines of trolley cars running directly to Park Row, Manhattan. The fare is five cents. Homewood maintains a sewerage plant constructed on Colonel Waring's system of sewage disposal by bacterial oxidation, so that cesspools, the bugbear and danger of suburban residence, have been dispensed with.

"Sixty-five cottages have been erected, fifty-four of which have been sold to purchasers on the twenty-year instalment plan, with life insurance. These houses have been built by the Sturgis and

Hill Company, from designs prepared by Mr. Percy Griffin. They are either entirely of brick, or first-story brick and second story stucco and half timber, or entirely of stucco. There are no frame buildings. The style of architecture is exceedingly tasteful, unified without being uniform. A well-known real estate editor has described Homewood as a Shakespearean village. The aptness of his characterization, technically considered, is complete. The architect and the builders deserve recognition for their good work.

"The company has made such favorable contracts, that houses can be profitably erected and sold for less than ordinary rates. Current inquiry and demand seem to indicate that Homewood is likely to develop rapidly and to yield the company substantial returns.

"The average price of cottages already sold is \$3100. This includes cost of land, buildings, grading, paving, curbing, macadamizing, sewers and all improvements. The average monthly instalment paid by purchasers is a little over \$25. This sum includes paying back the principal in twenty years, with interest at six per cent upon deferred payments, and the premium on a life insurance policy. Up to April 30 last, one hundred and twenty of the five hundred and thirty lots had been built upon. The four hundred and ten lots which remain cost the company about two-thirds the price at which fairly well situated property in the neighborhood, without improvements, is now being sold."

The company owns other tracts of land which will be improved in time as its business expands and the demand seems to warrant. Many persons interested in similar work are watching this experiment, conducted as it is under the skilled supervision of Dr. E. R. L. Gould, the president of the company, in the hopes that it will prove a model that can be easily adapted to local conditions elsewhere than in New York City.

**Municipal and County Charities in the United States.**—The recent quarter-centennial meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, which was held in New York City in May, one of the sections of which Mr. Homer Folks, Secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New York, was chairman, presented a report on "Municipal and County Charities (including Public Outdoor Relief)."<sup>\*</sup> In addition to a general statement concerning recent experience in dealing with the problems of charity in large cities, the report contains an account of the charitable activities of the seventy-three cities in the United States which, according to the census of 1890, each had a population of more than 40,000. These reports from the various cities contain many items of

<sup>\*</sup> Pp. 79. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis, 1898.



general interest concerning both the methods of administration and the actual outlay for some of the more important items of expenditure.

In the general report Mr. Folks has devoted himself very largely to municipal charities, although three topics were assigned to the committee, namely, municipal charities, county charities and public outdoor relief. The restriction of the topic was due to the fact that in the past the conference has devoted considerable attention and published many valuable papers on public outdoor relief and on county charities, while the administration of charity in the larger cities has been generally treated with less fullness. Mr. Folks says, "So far as charity has become a distinctly municipal undertaking, it has shared the general character of the administration of the municipality. The cities that have been notorious for inefficiency and corruption have had corrupt and inefficient departments of charities, and untold sufferings have thus been inflicted upon the recipients of so-called public charity, which, in some cases, might more truly have been called public cruelty."

Then follows some reference to a few of the more notable public scandals in the administration of charities, and continuing Mr. Folks adds: "But, if municipal charities have shared in the evils of our cities, they also share in that wonderful revival of interest in city government which we have witnessed in the last few years. In several cities this has passed beyond the realm of discussion, and comprehensive movements for the organization of municipal charities upon a more rational basis have been carried to success."

Speaking of the two recent experiments of special interest, namely, the reorganization of charities in New York and Boston, the following statement is made: "In one respect, at least, there is uniformity in these movements. Everywhere the tendency is toward a differentiation of the different classes cared for at public expense, and the placing of each distinct class under the management of a separate official responsibility. The lack of classification, one of the evils pointed out in 1888, is being corrected. The destitute, the insane and the criminal are the three generally recognized classes of public dependents. During the past three years New York City has made an absolute division of these three classes. In the place of its former Department of Charities and Correction, it has a Department of Public Charities and a Department of Correction, and has turned over its insane to the care of the state. More recently Boston has adopted a somewhat similar plan, but has carried the sub-division still farther. It has five departments—for adult paupers, for destitute children, for the insane, for criminals and a

separate department for investigation, registration, etc. The City Hospital of Boston, it is to be remembered, has long been under an administration entirely separate from that of the almshouse; and they are thoroughly dissociated in the public mind. Chicago, or rather Cook County, as we have already seen, has its almshouse, insane asylum and county hospital under one management, and, as if that were not bad enough, asks the same Board of Commissioners to build roads and bridges and to perform other important duties.

"As to what constitutes the most efficient governing authority of a charities department, there are two distinct tendencies—one looking toward administration by a board of unpaid trustees, from five to nine in number, similar to boards of trustees of state institutions; the other looking toward a concentration of responsibility in the hands of one, or at most three salaried commissioners, bringing this department into line with most other city departments. Philadelphia with its board of five unpaid commissioners, Boston with its three boards each of seven unpaid trustees, Baltimore with its newly authorized board of nine unpaid supervisors of charities and San Francisco with its unpaid health department in charge of its charities, have chosen the former of these two plans. New York with its three salaried commissioners with separate and sharply defined administrative jurisdiction in different boroughs, St. Louis with its four charitable institutions under the control of a salaried health commissioner and Cleveland with its salaried director of charities and correction, have chosen the latter plan.

"Each of the two plans has its evident advantages and its peculiar dangers. Either plan will secure good results if administered by persons of character and intelligence who have knowledge of, and interest in the subject of charity. Either plan will fail miserably in the hands of incompetent, indifferent or dishonest administrators. The merit of either plan lies largely in its influence upon the character of the appointments that are likely to be made under it.

"One very important advantage claimed for the unpaid board of trustees is that it lessens the probability of partisan appointments. If the unpaid board were certain to accomplish this result, there could be no doubt as to its desirability. Experience has shown, however, that unpaid boards have not always proved a sure means of escape from the spoils system. There have been unpaid boards of trustees that there were neither wise, high-minded nor non-partisan. In fact, of all administrations, that of an unpaid committee or board composed of party workers whose political service had to receive some slight recognition, is the weakest, flabbiest and least

effective. Accepting the positions for the patronage and public notice involved, such appointees, receiving no salary, do not often feel called upon to give much service in return.

"But, while the unpaid board does not offer a sure means of escape from politics, it probably does make good appointments more probable. A few administrations are so hopelessly political that they will appoint none but party workers even to unpaid places. A few mayors there are (may their tribe increase!) who will appoint the best men to either unpaid or paid positions. Between these two extremes there are doubtless many appointing powers who would feel that they could safely appoint persons of special fitness to unpaid positions, but who would fear that they could not make a satisfactory explanation to the party leaders if the positions carried salaries. Another advantage of the unpaid board is its presumably wider knowledge and greater wisdom in passing upon the delicate and complicated questions involved in the administration of charity.

"The dangers of the unpaid board arise from a division of responsibility, which too frequently leads to inaction or to hesitation and halfway measures. There is also a very real danger of placing in the hands of volunteers duties more arduous and exacting than they can be expected to perform for any considerable period of time.

"The advantages of concentrating power and responsibility in the hands of one salaried official are evidently promptness and the opportunity for executive ability to reap its full fruition without let or hindrance. The plan is in line with the general system of municipal government in this country, so far as we have any system, though directly opposed to that of Great Britain and the Continental cities. In our cities we have freely abolished boards and committees, have curtailed the powers of boards of aldermen and common councils as to appointment and confirmation of heads of departments, and have concentrated responsibility in the hands of a mayor and his appointees. It may be a mistake; but it has been our general policy up to this time. It frankly accepts the risks of partisan appointments, and relies for its ultimate success upon the virtue of holding the one responsible official face to face with his responsibility from day to day, week to week and month to month.

"The practical operations of the plan adopted by New York in 1895, and of that adopted by Boston in 1897, will be watched with very great interest, and may afford data for a more definite conclusion than can now be reached as to their comparative merits. For the present we may profitably withhold decision, and each use his best efforts to make the system under which he finds himself working bear its best fruits.

"It would be easy, however, to lay too much emphasis upon the particular form of organization of the department and too little upon the extent of public interest in its work. The recent reorganizations in Boston and New York have led to many desirable results; but is this not due in some measure to an increased public interest aroused in the process of securing the legislative reforms and resulting in a more general willingness to give personal service to public institutions? In fact, almost any change that is brought about by an enlightened public sentiment breaking through the force of tradition and precedent, is bound to be beneficial. Whatever makes the community better informed about a municipal department makes that community more exacting in its demands and more willing to approve liberal expenditures. However much municipal charities have suffered from poor organization, from the commingling of diverse and unrelated interests, they have suffered most of all from lack of a widespread, intelligent, earnest, persistent, wisely directed public sentiment."

**Convict Labor and Employment of Foreigners.**—The General Court of Massachusetts at its session in 1897, passed an order directing the General Superintendent of Prisons to examine the various methods of employing prisoners on public works and lands, and to submit a special report on this subject to the General Court of 1898. This report, which has just been published under the title of "Special Report of the General Superintendent of Prisons in Massachusetts upon the Various Methods of Employing Prisoners on Public Works and Lands,"\* makes just the sort of pamphlet that students of this subject will want to consult in order to find in brief space a general summary of what has been done in this line. Mr. F. G. Pettigrove, the General Superintendent of Prisons, has not attempted an exhaustive inquiry, but has succeeded in furnishing a very readable document. He refers to other sources of information on this subject, namely, the Second Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, issued in 1897, and more especially a document relating to road work done by convicts, which was issued by the United States Department of Agriculture under the title of "Notes on the Employment of Convicts in Connection with Road Building," prepared in 1895 by General Roy Stone.

Mr. Pettigrove's report contains several fine illustrations, and discusses convict work under three heads: (1) Farming; (2) Road Work, and (3) Public Works in General. In the first section particular attention is given to the state of affairs in North Carolina, where, under specially favorable conditions, agricultural employ-

\* 1898. Boston. Pp. 50.

ment can be relied upon to furnish full occupation for convicts; but, of course, for only part of the year. The work in Georgia is also discussed and the reasons for the proposed change in the system of hiring out convicts, as has been suggested by the Governor of Georgia. The most successful road work seems to have been done in North Carolina, and the most extensive employment of convicts on public works in general, in foreign countries. The difficulties in applying any of these suggestions to certain of the Northern States, especially in Massachusetts, are discussed at some length, and the opinion of the General Superintendent seems to be that, so far as Massachusetts is concerned, the most advisable steps would be in the direction of preparing the material for road-building and in reclaiming waste lands. He also discusses the question of building a ship canal across Cape Cod, which proposition meets with his approval.

**The Pulpit and Social Problems.**—This is the title of a new publication devoted to social and economic questions, especially in their ethical relations. It is a monthly magazine published by Rev. J. E. Scott, 14 Grant avenue, San Francisco, Cal. The first number, bearing the date March 15, 1898, contains articles by Professor George D. Herron, Professor Edward A. Ross, Dr. J. H. W. Stuckenberg, President E. Benjamin Andrews, and other well-known writers.



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